

A Acton. d. 48. 305.
SHORT TREATISE

of politike power, and of the true obedience
which Subjects owe to Kings and other civill
GOVERNOURS.

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Composed by me D. I. P. B. R. W.

PSAL. 118.

It is better to trust in the Lord, then to trust in Princes.



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To the gentle Reader.



Content thy self to read over this short Treatise, wherein is neither heresie, felony nor treason: but all that is written here in few, is meant for thy plentiful benefit, necessary admonition, and faithfull instruction. And albeit the Printer is not sure whether the Author be gone to God already (as by the discourse of the matter he seemeth to be) or yet still in this life; yet for as much as the gravity of the work, the sobernesse of the stile, and the equity of the cause joyned with substantiall proofs, importe a mighty zeal, and a fervent care of the Authour for his Countrey, he is pleased to put forth the work, to the intent the travaile of the doer be not lost, neither true English hearts frustrate at so worthy an instruction, unlesse they will willingly neglect their own safeguard, the state of their Countrey, and the preservation of their posterity, God give thee (good Reader) a will to foresee, and an heart to perceive, and a judgement to discern their own state in time, and in Christ heartily well to fare, Amen.

1605:01

WHEREOF POLITIKE POWER groweth, wherefore it was ordained, and the right use and duty of the same.



AS Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and such other unreasonable creatures cannot for lack of reason rule themselves, but must be ruled by a more excellent creature, that is man: So man, albeit he have reason, yet because through the fall of the first man, his reason is wonderfully corrupt, and sensuality hath gotten the over hand, is not able by himself to rule himself, but must have a more excellent Governour. The Worldlings thought this Governour was their own reason: They thought they might by their own reason do what they listed: not onely in private things, but also in publike; reason they thought to be the onely cause, that men first assembled together in companies, that Common-wealths were made, that policies were well governed, and long continued: but men see that such were utterly blinded and deceived in their imaginations, their doings and inventions (seemed they never so wise) were so easily and so soon (contrary to their expectation) overthrown.

Where is the wisdom of the Greacians, where is the fortitude of the Affirians? where is both the wisdom and force of the Romans become? All is vanished away, nothing almost left to testifie that they were, but that which well declareth, that their reason was not able to govern them. Therefore where such as were desirous to know the profit and onely Governour of all, constrained to seek further then themselves, and so at length to confesse, that it was one God that ruled all; by him we live, we have our being, and be moved: He made us, and not we our selves, we be his people, and the Sheep of his pasture. He made all things for man; and man he made for himself, to serve and glorifie him. He hath taken upon him the order and government of man his chief creature, and prescribed him a rule, how he should behave himself, what he should do, and what he may not do.

This rule is the law of nature, first planted and grafted onely in the minde of man, then after for that his minde was through sin defiled, filled with darknesse, and incumbred with many doubts, set forth in writing in the Ten Commandements, and after reduced by Christ our Saviour into these two words: Thou shalt love thy Lord God above all things, and thy neighbour as thy self: Whatsoever ye will that men do unto you, do ye even so to them.

In this law is comprehended all justice, the perfect way to serve and glorifie God, and the right mean to rule every man particularly, and all men generally: and the onely stay to maintaine every Commonwealth. This is the touchstone to try every mans doings (be he King or begger) whether they be good or evill. By this all mens laws be discerned, whether they be just or unjust, godly or wicked. As for example, Those that have authority to make laws in a Commonwealth, make this law, that no Pins shall be made, but in their own Countrey. It seemeth but a trifle. Yet if by this means the people may be kept from idlenesse, it is a good and just law, and pleaseth God, for idlenesse is a vice wherewith God is offended: and the way to offend him in breach of these commandements: *Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be a Whoremonger, &c.* For all these evils come of idlenesse. On the other side, if the people be well occupied in other things, and the people of another Countrey live by Pin-making, and uttring them: then if there should be a law made that they might not sell them to their neighbours of the other Countrey, otherwise well occupied, it were a wicked and an unjust law. For taking away the mean, whereby they live, a mean is devised to kill them with famine, and so is not onely this Commandement broken: *Thou shalt not kill*, but also the generall law that saith: *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. And whatsoever ye will that men do unto you, even so do you unto them. For you your selves would not be killed with hunger.*

Likewise if there be a law made, utterly prohibiting any man that cannot live chaste, to marry: this is an unjust, an ungodly and a wicked law. For it is an occasion, that where with marrying he might avoid sin: he not marrying doth commit whoredom in act or thought contrary to Gods will and commandement: *Thou shalt not commit whoredome.*

Again, a Prince forceth his Subjects (under the name of request) to lend him that they have, which they do unwillingly: and yet for feare of a worse turne, they must seem to be content therewith. Afterwards he causeth to be assembled in a Parliament such as perchance lent nothing, or else such as dare not displease him. Then to please him, remit this generall debt. This is a wicked, ungodly, and unjust law. For they do not, as they would de done unto, but be an occasion that a great number be undone, their children for lack of sustenance perish through famine, and their servants forced to steal, and perchance to commit murder. So that if men will weigh well this order and law that God hath prescribed to man, *Thou shalt love thy Lord God above all things, and thy neighbour as thy self. And whatsoever ye will that men do unto you, do ye even the same unto them: they may soon learn to try good from evil, godlinesse from ungodlinesse, right from wrong.*

And it is so plain and easie to be understood, that no ignorance can or will excuse him that therein offendeth.

Against

Against the offenders of this law, there was no corporall punishment ordained in this World, till after the destruction of the World with the great flood. For albeit *Cain* and *Lamech* had committed horrible murders, yet were they not corporally punished, but had a protection of God, that none should lawfully hurt them. But after the flood, when God saw his gentlenesse and patience could not work his creatures to do their duties unforced, but iniquity prevailed, and mischief daily increased, and one murdered and destroyed another; then was he constrained to change his lenity into severity, and to adde corporall pains to those that would not follow, but transgresse his ordinances. And so he made this law, which he declared to *Noba*: *He that sheddeth the blood of man, his blood shall be shed by man, for man is made after the Image of God.*

By this ordinance and law he instituteth politike power, and giveth authority to men to make more laws. For he that giveth man authority over the body and life of man, because he would have man to live quietly with man, that all might serve him quietly in holinesse and righteousness, all the daies of their life, it cannot be denied, but he gave him authority over goods, lands, possessions, and all such things as might breed controversies and discords, and so hinder and let, that he might not be served and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinance also teacheth makers of laws, how they should behave themselves in making laws: that is, to set apart all affections, and to observe an equality in paines, that they be not greater or lesse then the fault deserveth, and that they punish not the innocent or small offender for malice, and let the mighty and great thief escape for affection. And out of this ordinance groweth and is grounded the authority for Magistrates to execute laws: for laws without execution be no more profitable, then bells without clappers. But whether this authority to make lavvs, or the power to execute the same shall be, and remain in one person alone, or in many, it is not expressed, but left to the discretion of the people to make so many and so few, as they think necessary for the maintenance of the State. Whereupon in some places they have been content to obey such lavvs, as were made by one, as the Israelites were with those that *Moses* ordained: the Lacedemonians with those that *Lycurgus* made: the Athenians with those that *Solon* gave them. And in some places with such as were made by certain outchosen men, as in Rome by the ten men. And in some they received none, but such as all the multitude agreed unto. Likewise in some Countries they were content to be governed, and the laws executed by one King or Iudge, in some places by many of the best sort, in some places by the people of the lowest sort, and in some places also by the King, Nobility, and the people altogether.

And these divers kindes of States or Policies had their distinct names, as where one ruled, a *Monarchy*; where many of the best, *Aristocracy*: where the multitude, *Democracy*; and where all together, that is, a King.

the Nobility, and Commons, a mixt State: Which men by long continuance have judged to be the best sort of all. For where that mixt State was exercised, there did the Common-wealth longest continue. But yet every kinde of these States tended to one end, that is, to the maintenance of justice, to the wealth and benefit of the whole multitude, and not of the Superiour and Governours alone. And when they saw that the Governours abused their authority, they altered the State: As among the Israelites, for the iniquity of the children of *Samuel* their Iudge, from Iudges to Kings: Among the Romans, for the tyranny and oppression that *Tarquinius* used over the people (as the chief occasion) and afterwards for his Sons lewdnesse (as the outward occasion) from Kings to Consuls, and so from Consuls (for their evill demeanour) to *Decem viri*, and *Triumviri*, that is, to ten Rulers, and three Rulers: and so from change to change, till it came to the State Imperiall: ye alwaies preserving and maintaining the authority, albeit they altered and changed the kinde of government. For the Ethnicks themselves being led onely by the law of nature and their own reason, saw that without politike power and authority, mankinde could not be preserved, nor the world continued. The rich would oppresse the poor, and the poor seek the destruction of the rich, to have that he had: the mighty would destroy the weak, and as *Theodoretus* saith, the great fish eat up the small, and the weak seek revenge on the mighty: and so one seeking the others destruction, all at length should be undone and come to destruction. And because this authority and power, both to make laws, and execute laws, proceeded from God, the Holy Ghost in Scripture calleth them Gods: not for that they be naturally Gods, or that they be transubstantiated into Gods (for he saith, they shall die like men, and indeed their works declare them to be none other than men) but for the authority and power which they receive of God, to be his Ministers here on earth in ruling and governing his people, and that the people should the rather obey them, and have them in honour and reverence, according to his ordinance

And the wonderfull providence of God is herein to be well noted and considered, of all such as love and feare God, that in all places and Countries where Gods Word hath been received and imbraced, there for the time the people followed God, no tyranny could enter, but all the members of the body sought the prosperity and wealth one of another, for Gods Word taught them so to do. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God (saith it) above all things, and thy neighbour as thy self. And what ye will that men do unto you, do you even so unto them. The fruits of his Word is love one of another, of what state or degree in this World soever they be. And the state of the policies and Commonwealths have been disposed and ordained by God, that the Heads could not (if they would) oppresse the other members. For as among the Lacedemo-

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cedemonians certain men called *Ephori* were ordained to see that the Kings should not oppresse the people, and among the Romans the *Tribunes* were ordained to defend and maintain the liberty of the people, from the pride and injury of the Nobles: so in all Christian Realms and Dominions, God ordained means, that the Heads, the Princes and Governours should not oppresse the poor people after their lusts, and make their wills their laws. As in Germany between the Emperour and the people, a Counsell or Diet: in France and England, Parliaments, wherein there met and assembled of all sorts of people, and nothing could be done without the knowledge and consent of all. But where the people have forsaken God, and contemned utterly his Word, there hath the Devill by his ministers, occupied the whole Countrey, and subverted the good orders, justice and equity, that was in the Common-wealth, and planted his unreasonable lusts for good laws, as every man may see by the Realm of Hungary, which the Turk in our time hath occupied. And where the people have not utterly forsaken God and his Word, but have begun to be weary of it: there hath not God suffered Tyrants by and by to rush in, and to occupie the whole, and to suppress the good orders of the Common-wealth, but by little and little hath suffered them to creep in, first with the head, then with an arme, and so after with a legge, and at length (were not the people penitent, and in time converted to God) to bring in the whole body, and to work the feats of Tyrants, as hereafter it shall be declared.

This is so manifest in most places, that it shall not need any particular example, wherefore it shall be the part of all Christian men to take heed that in forsaking God, they bring not justly, the Devill and Tyrants to raige over them. And those that be called to Counsels and Parliaments (and so to be makers of laws, whereby the people should be bounden) not to neglect their duty, or to deceive the people of the trust and confidence that was put in them, for it is no little danger that may thereby follow unto them, both in this world, and in the world to come, for that man that take upon him to do any thing for another (being the thing never so little of value) and therein did use himself either craftily, seeking his own gaine and profit, or shew himself not diligent, or not passing what became of the matter committed to his trust, our elders being men of honesty, judged and condemned for a most vild varlot, and dishonest person. And being men of wisdom, made a law (which continueth to this day) not onely that he should make recompence for the hurt he did, but also that he should not be allowed afterward in the company or number of honest men, no more than an open thief, And this they did not by will, but by reason, not rashly, but advisedly, not by most voices, but by the more discreet heads, because they saw that men could not be alwaies present to do their own things, but of necessity must use the help and trust of others.

And

And again, nature hath made every man apt for all things, but hath made one man more meet for one purpose then another: so that one having need of another, every one should be glad to do for another, and all be tyed together in an undissoluble strong band of friendship. And therefore was such fals and unfriendly dealing taken to be most vild, because it did violate two the chiefeft vertues and most necessary things, without which mankinde could not continue: faith, and friendship, for no man requireth another to do any thing for him, whom he taketh not to be his friend, nor trusteth him, whom he thinketh not faithfull: And therefore they thought him to be a very wicked and vile person, and not worthy the name of a man, that at one time, and in one thing, should thus undo the knot of friendship, and deceive him, whom he could not have hurted, unlesse he had trusted him. Now if nature, reason, honestie and law doth so grievously punish him, and cast him out of all honest mens companies, that is negligent in a trifle, how much more ought he to be punished and cast out of all mens sight, that is negligent in the greatest matters? If he ought so sharply to be used, that deceiveth one poor man, how much more sharply ought he to be punished, and of all men to be abhorred (yea cast to the Dogs) that deceiveth a whole Realm of ten or twenty hundred thousand persons? If he be thus to be abhord and punished, that is required to do another mans businesse, and deceiveth him? how much more ought they to be abhorred and hated, that take upon them to do for others, not desired, but suing for it: not called thereto, but thrusting in themselves: not prayed, but paying, giving many liveries, procuring and making friends to give them their voices, obtaining of great mens Letters, and Ladies tokens, feasting freeholders, and making great banqueting cheere: not by the consent of the party, but by force and strength, with troops of Horsemen, Bills, Bows, Pikes, Guns, and such like kinde of qualities.

If this opinion be had, and judgement be given against a man that seeketh his own gain with the losse of his friends, in small things: what opinion may men have, what judgement shall be given of those, that (to make themselves noble and rich) cut the throats of those that committed themselves, their wives, their children, their goods, yea and lives, upon trust, into their hands.

If this judgement be given for worldly things, what judgement shall be given of those that wilfully go about to destroy mens souls, and to make them a present to the Devill, so that they for a time may be his Deputies here on earth? If men do thus abhor and punish such unfaithfull and dishonest persons: how much more will the Almighty God abhor, condemne and exercise his judgement on them, that thus abuse the authority given unto them, and deceive and undo those poore Sheep of his, in whom (as his Ministers) they put in trust?

Heark, heark, (while time of repentance is) to the sentence of God
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pronounced by the mouth of his Servant and Prophet *Esaïas*, Wo be unto you (saith he) that make unrighteous laws, and devise things which be too hard to be kept, whereby the poor are oppressed on every side, and the innocents of my people are therewith robbed of judgement, that Widows may be your pray, and that ye may rob the fatherlesse. What will ye do in time of the visitation and destruction that shall come far? To whom will ye run for help? Or to whom will ye give your honour, that he may keep it? that ye come not among the prisoners, or lie among the dead?

This terrible wo of everlasting damnation was spoken not onely to *Ierusalem*, but to *Germany, Italy, France, Spaine, England, Scotland*, and all other Countries and Nations, where the like vices shall be committed. For God is just, and so hateth sin, that he never leaveth it in any place unpunished: but the more common it is, the greater plagues and force doth he use to repress it: as we may learne by the examples of the Cities, *Sodome and Gomor*, and *Ierusalem* his own City. And besides the generall plague, he whippeth the authours of it with some speciall scourge, that they may be a spectacle, not onely to those that are present, but also a remembrance to all that be to come.

But perchance some (that be put in trust and authority to make Statutes and laws) will say: We do not willingly any thing against Gods honour, or the wealth of our Countrey, or deceive any that put their trust in us.

If any such thing follow, it is by reason that we were ignorant.

Tell me, I beseech thee, if thou hadst hyred one to be thy Shepheard, and thy sheep should under his hand, by his ignorance miscarry: or if thy Horsekeeper taking wages, should (through his negligence) suffer thy Horse to perish: wouldst thou not count him faulty, and look for amends at his hands? Should ignorance excuse him? No, thou wouldst say, I hyred thee, and thou tookest it upon thee. And so thou wouldst not onely force him to make satisfaction, but also wouldst think it just to have him punished: besides to make himself no more cunning then he was, not to deceive any that put their trust in him. Then they are much to blame, that being put in trust in Courts and Parliaments to make laws and statutes, to the advancement of Gods glory, and conservation of the liberties and Common-wealth of their Countrey, neglect their office and charge, being appointed to be not onely keepers of Gods people, not of Hogs, neither of Horses and Mules which have no understanding, but of that deare Flock which Christ purchased with the price of his heart blood: but also as Physicians and Chirurgions, to redresse, reform & heal, if any thing be amiss. And if a Physician for lucre or other mens pleasure, would take upon him the heal a sore diseased person, & for lack of knowledge or upon other ev

pose would minister things to hurt or kill the person, were he not worthy to be taken and punished as a butcher and a man murtherer?

But ye will say: we gave credit to others, and they deceived us. Think ye, that this bold excuse will serve? Is it not written, that if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit? Did the plea that *Eva* made for offending in eating the forbidden Apple (when she said, the Serpent had deceived her) excuse her? Nothing lesse. She was not onely her self therefore punished with such paines (as greater then death none could be devised) but also all her posterity.

Others perhaps of you will say, ye dare do no otherwise. If ye did, ye should be taken for enemies of the Governour, run into indignation, and so lose your bodies and goods, and undo your children. O faint hearts. think ye, that your parents had left you as ye be, if they had been so fainthearted? Or think ye that this will serve your turne? Was it enough for *Adam* our first Father, when he fell with bearing his wife company in eating the forbidden Apple, to say, I durst not displease my wife: or to say, as he said, The woman whom thou gavest me, gave it me? No, it availed not, but he and all his posterity were plagued for his disobedience, as we and all that shall follow us, do well feelee, if we have any feare of God before our eyes.

When the brutish commons of Israel were so importune upon *Aaron*, that he for feare was faine to make them the golden Calfe: wherewith when *Moses* sharply charged him, he excused himself, saying: Alas, Sir, this seditious and raging brutish people would needs have me perforce to do it. God knoweth, it was sore against my will: did this excuse acquit him, trow you? No surely, If he had not repented, he had been as sure of hell fire for his labonr, as they be, which have set up, or said the beastly Popish Masse, at the furious inforcement of the brutish Commons, or in pretence of obedience to the Queens proceedings in England: unlesse they speedily repent, and renounce their wicked doing, as *Aaron* did his.

This ye have heard not onely whereof politike power groweth, and of the true use and duty thereof, but also what will be laid to their charge, that do not their duty in making laws. Now see what is said by God to the executors of laws: *See what ye do (saith God) for ye execute not the judgement of man, but of God. And whatsoever ye judge, it shall redound to your selves.* Let the feare of God therefore be before your eyes, and do all things with diligence. For with the Lord our God there is none iniquity, neither difference of persons, nor yet hath he pleasure in rewards or bribes.

But of the ministers of laws, and Governours of Realms and Countries, more shall be said hereafter.

WHE-

C H A P. I I.

Whether Kings, Princes, and other Governours have an absolute power and authority over their Subjects.

FOrasmuch as those that be the Rulers in the world, and would be taken for gods (that is, the ministers and images of God here on earth, the examples and myrrours of all godlinesse, justice, equity and other vertues) claime and exercise an absolute power, which also they call a fulnesse of power, or prerogative to do what they lust, and none may gainsay them: to dispense with the laws as pleaseth them, and freely and without correction or offence do contrary to the laws of nature, and other Gods laws, and the positive laws and customes of their Countries, or break them: and use their subjects as men do their beasts, and as Lords do their villanes and bondmen, getting their goods from them by hook and by crook, with *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and spending it to the destruction of their Subjects: the misery of this time requireth to examine, whether they do it rightfully or wrongfully, that if it be rightfull, the people may the more willingly obey and receive the same: if it be wrongfull, that then those that use it, may the rather for the feare of God leave it. For (no doubt) God will come, and judge the world with equity, and revenge the cause of the oppressed. Of the Popes power (who counteth himself one, yea the chief of these kinde of Gods, yea above them all, and fellow to the God of gods) we minde not now to treat: neither is it requisite. For all men, yea half wise women, and babes can well judge, that his power is worthy to be laught at: and were it not bolstered and propped up with Sword and Fagot, it would (as it will notwithstanding) shortly lie in the mire, for it is not built on the Rock, but on the Sand: not planted by the Father of Heaven, but by the Divell of Hell, as the fruits do manifestly declare. But we will speak of the power of Kings and Princes, and such like Potentates, Rulers, and Governours of Common-wealths.

Before ye have heard, how for a great long time, that is, untill after the generall flood, there was no civill or politike power, and how it was then first ordained by God himself, and for what purpose he ordained it: that is (to comprehend all briefly) to maintaine justice: for every one doing his duty to God, and one to another, is but justice. Ye have heard also, how States, Bodies politike, and Common-wealths have authority to make laws for the maintenance of the policy, so that they be not contrary to Gods law, and the laws of nature: which if ye note well the question before propounded, whether Kings and Princes have an absolute power, shall appear not doubtfull, or if any would affirme it, that he shall not be able to maintain it. For first, touching Gods laws (by which name also the laws of nature be comprehended) Kings and Princes are not joyned makers hereof with God, so that thereby of

themselves they might claime any interrest or authority to dissolve them, or dispense with them, by this *Maxime* or principle, that he that may knit together, may loose assunder: and he that may make, may mar: for before Magistrates were, Gods Laws were. Neither can it be proved, that by Gods Word they have any authority to dispence or break them: but that they be still commanded to do right, to minister justice, and not to swarve, neither on the right hand, or on the left. Then must it needs follow, that this absolute authority which they use, must be maintained by mans reason, or it must needs be an usurpation: But what can reason say? If it be not lawfull, by no laws (no neither by honesty) for any mans servant to alter his Masters (a mortall mans) commandement: can reason say, it is lawfull for any person to alter Gods Commandement, or break it? That a mans servant may be wiser then his master, that he may be juster then his master, that he may see what is more profitable and necessary to be done then his master, commonly it hapneth: and therefore he may have some apparent cause to alter or break his Masters commandement. But to say, that any creature is, or that any creature would seem in word or deed, to be more wise than God, more just then God, more prudent and circumspect then God, or knoweth what is better for the creature then the Creatour himself (as it must needs be said, that he doth, that taketh upon him to break or dispence with Gods Will and Commandement) what an horrible blasphemy is it? What Luciferous presumption is it?

If we will not submit our selves to Gods judgement herein expressed by his Word, as Christians should, let us yet mark the sequell: and thereby gather Gods judgement, as Ethnicks do. For when we have wrought our wits out, and devised and done what we can, we cannot so exclude God, but he will have a saying with us.

Gods Word, Will and Commandement is, that he that wilfully killeth a man, shall also be killed by man: that is, the Magistrate. But this law hath not been observed, and alwaies executed, but Kings and Princes upon affection have dispensed and broken it, granting life and liberty to traytors, robbers, murtherours, &c.

But what hath followed of it? Have they (whose offences have been so pardoned) afterward shewed themselves penitent to God, and thankfully profitable to the Common-wealth? No, God and the Common-wealth have had no greater enemies. They have added murther to murther, mischief to mischief, and of private malefactours, have become publike, and of menkillers, they have at length grown to be destroyers of their Countrey, yea, and many times of them that saved them from hanging, and other just paines of the law. And no marvell, for God doth not onely punish the principals and authours of such mischief, but also those that be accessaries and maintainors of it, and plagueth iniquity with iniquity. Ye may likewise see, what fruits have folloved, vvhether Popes have dispensed, that marriages might be made contrary to Gods
Laws.

lavvs. We shall not need to rehearse any, the end vwill declare all. But let us leave to reason that, vwherein nothing can be said for it. And let us come to that, vwherein somewhat may be said: that is, vwhether Kings & Princes may do things contrary to the positive lavvs of their Country. As for example. It is a law positive, that a mean kind of apparel, or a mean kinde of diet should be used in a Common-vvealth, to the intent that men leaving the excesse thereof, vwhereof many occasions both to destroy nature and to offend God followv, they might convert that they before evill spent, to the relief of the poverty, or defence of their Countrey.

For answer to this question, this division ought to be made, that there be two kindes of Kings, Princes, and Governours?

The one, who alone may make positive laws, because the whole state and body of their Countrey have given and resigned to them their authority so to do: which neverthelesse is rather to be counted a tyrant then a King, as *Dionysius*, *Philippus*, and *Alexander* were, who saved whom they would, and spilt whom they lusted. And the other be such, unto whom the people have not given such authority, but kept it themselves: as we have before said concerning the mixt state.

True it is, that in matters indifferent, that is, that of themselves be neither good nor evill, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent order. Kings and Princes (to whom their people have given their authority) may make such laws, & dispense with them. But in matters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordained for the Common-wealth, there can they not (for all their authority) break them. or dispence with them. For Princes are ordained to do good, not to do evill: to take away evill, not to increase it: to give example of wel-doing, not to be procurers of evill: to procure the wealth & benefit of their subjects, and not to work their hurt or undoing. And in the Empire where (by the civill laws) the Emperours claim that the people gave them their authority to make laws, albeit they have been willing, and oft attempted to execute their authority, which some pick thanks (to please them) say they have by the laws, yet have they been forced of themselves to leave off their enterprize. But such as be indifferent expounders of the laws, be of that minde that we before have declared: & therefore make this a generall conclusion, and as it were a rule that the Emperour willing any thing to be done, there is no more to be done, then the laws permit to be done. For (say they) neither Pope, Emperour, nor King may do any thing to the hurt of his people without their consent. *K. Antigonus* Chancellour, saying unto him, that all things were honest & lawful to Kings, ye say true (quoth he *K.*) but to such Kings as be beasts, barbarous and without humanity: but with true and good Princes, nothing is honest. but that is honest indeed, and nothing is just, but that is just indeed. *Antiochus the 3^d K. of Asia*, considering that as he was above the people, so the laws were above him, wrote general letters to all the Cities of his Countrey, that if they should perceive, that he by any letters, should require any thing contrary to the laws, they should think that such letters were obtained without his consent, and therefore they should not obey them.

Now if where the people have given their authority to their Governour to make such laws, yet can he not break or dispense with the positive laws: how much lesse may such Governours, Kings, and Princes, to whom the people have not given their authority, (but they with the people, and the people with them make the laws) break them, or dispence with them? If this were tolerable, then were it in vaine to make solemn Assemblies of the whole State, long Parliaments, &c? Yea (I beseech thee) what certainty should there be in any thing, where all should depend on ones will and affection? But it will be said, that albeit Kings and Princes cannot make laws, but with the consent of the people, yet may they dispense with any positive law, by reason that of long time they have used so to do, and prescribe so to do: for long custome makeh a law.

To this it may be answered, evill customes (be they never so old) are not to be suffered, but utterly to be abolished: and none may prescribe to do evill, be he King or Subject. If the laws appoint thee the time of thirty or forty years, to claim a sure and a perfitt interest of that thou enjoyest, yet if thou know, that either thy self or those by whom thou claimest, came wrongfully by it, thou art not indeed a perfect owner of it, but art bound to restore it. Although the laws of man do excuse and defend thee from outward trouble and punishment, yet can they not quiet the conscience, but when thy conscience remembreth, that thou enjoyest that is not thine, it will bite thee that thou hast done wrong: it will accuse thee before the Iudgement seat of God, and condemne thee. And if Princes and Governours would shew themselves half so wise, as they would men should take them to be, and by the example of others learn what mischief might happen to themselves, they would not (if they might) claime, much lesse execute any such absolute authority. No, neither would their Counsellours (if they loved them) maintaine them in it: nor yet the Subjects (if they did but consider their own safety and felicity in this life) would not if they might, suffer their Prince to do what him lusted.

For the one purchase to themselves a perpetuall uncertainty both of life and goods: and the other procureth the hatred of all, which albeit it be coloured and dissembled for a season, yet doth it at length burst out, and worketh the revenge with extremity.

There lack no examples to verifie this. It was driven into the head of the Emperour C. *Caligula*, that he was subject to no power, that he was above all laws, and that he might lawfully do what him lusted. This lesson was so sweet to the flesh, that it was no sooner moved than desired, no sooner taught then learned, no sooner heard then practised. First, by like that the Empire should not go out of his own race, he coupleth not with one, but with all his Sisters, like bitch and dog. He killeth his brother *Tiberius*, and all his chiefeest friends: he murdereth many of the Senators

natours of *Rome*. He delighted to have honest men to be garshed, scorched, and cut in the faces, and so to make him pleasure, to have them cast to ravenous beasts, to be torne and devoured in his sight, or to be sawed afunder in the midst. It was a pleasant pastime for him, to see the Parents stand by, lamenting and weeping, whiles their children were tormented and killed. He used to complaine and lament, that no common calamity and notable miseries hapned in his time. He rejoyced much when news were brought him of the slaughters of whole armies of men, great hunger, pestilence, Towns burning, and openings of the earth, wherein many people were swallowed up. But the day he saw any of these himself, he needed neither meat nor drink, but was so joycond and merry. And being gluttred with the pastime of every mans death, by himself (to procure a new appetite) he devised another, if he could have brought it to passe. But when he could not have it done, the memory thereof was so sweet, that he oft desired: that is, that all the heads of the people of *Rome* stood on one mans neck, that he might with one swash cut it off. Many other noble acts by his absolute power he wrought: and at length he commanded that his image should be set up in the Temple at *Ierusalem*, and there worshipped: as not unlike Saint *Gardiners* (for he hath done no small things) shall be shortly by anticipation in *England*. But what was the end of *Caligulaes* absolute power (when he had reigned three years and ten moneths, his own household servants conspired against him, and the Generall of his own Army slew him.

Nero the Emperour was of nature very modest, gentle, and mercifull, and the first five years of his reign, he behaved himself very vertuously. After, other Counsellors and Masters, then *Seneca* crept into his favour, who told him that he might do what him lusted. He was soon perswaded thereunto. And to shew some proof that he had well carried away their advice: he killed his Mother *Agrippina*. This cruell act did so move his wicked conscience, that he durst not come abroad in the Senate, but kept himself secret in his privie chamber. For he feared the hatred of the people, and knew not what was best for him to do. He lacked no flattering Counsellours. There were plenty that sought their own profit and gaine, and the satisfying of their lusts, more then their Princes honour and safety, and the Common-wealth of their Countrey. Say they: Sir, why should ye be thus amazed with the death of this Woman? She was of all people abhorred and hated: the people wonderfully rejoyce in your doing, and commend you above the Moon for so noble an act. They desire that ye will returne into the City, that they may with triumph expresse how much their joy and gladnesse is, and how they love you for so noble a feat. These crafty knaves seeing how they might blind their Masters eyes, commanded in the Emperours behalf, that all the people should come out of *Rome*, to meet the Emperour. The Senate in their best apparrell commeth out, all other orders likewise after their degrees.

degrees follow, and finally, man, woman, and child.

The Emperour when he saw them, thought all was done from the bottome of their heart. The Senate shewed such outvvard honour, the Commons so great love, every body pretended so great joy and gladnesse. And think ye, there vvere not about him that said, Doth not your Majesty well finde all our sayings true? may ye not credit us in that we counsell and advise you? What followed? The Emperour imbrued with the bloud of his Mother, and his unnaturall act commended by his wicked Counsellours, ceaseth not from his cruelty, but earnestly goeth forward. He putteth away his wife *Octavia*, because she shewed to be barren. He marrieth his Harlot called *Puppie*. He sendeth his wife *Octavia* into an Iland, he bindeth her in chaines, and causeth her to be let bloud in all parts: and fearing lest feare would drive the bloud to the heart, and so she live longer then he would, he setteth her in a bayne of hot water, that her bloud might the sooner come out. But what becommeth of his dear darling *Puppie*? he dallieth a while with his *Puppie*, and at length his hot love being turned into displeasure, he spurneth her (being with childe) on the belly, and so she dieth. Too late he repented, but yet ceased not his cruelty. He killed his Master *Seneca*, he persecuted the Church of Christ most miserably, and so thinking that he might do what him lusted, and that all was well done, were it never so evill done, he never left of his cruelty, till the people finding occasion and opportunity to utter their dissembling hatred, slew him.

But what think you? who were to be blamed for these cruell acts? He for doing them, or others for flat trying him, or the Senate and people of *Rome* in suffering him? Surely there is none of them to be excused, but all to be blamed, and chiefly those that might have bridled him, and did not.

He is a good Citizen that doth no evill (saith a noble wise man) but he is a better that letteth others, that they shall not do hurt nor injustice to others. The bloud of innocents shall be demanded, not onely at the hands of the shedders of bloud, but also of those that make or consent to wicked laws, to condemne innocents, or suffer their head to kill them contrary to just laws, or to spoile them of that they justly enjoy by the order of the law.

Now sith Kings, Princes, and Governours of Common-wealths have not, nor can justly claim any absolute authority, but that the end of their authority is determined, and certain to mainta in justice, to defend the innocent, to punish the evill. And then so many evils and mischiefs may follow, where such absolute and (indeed) tyrannicall power is usurped: let us pray, that they may know their duty, and discharge themselves to God and to the world, or else that those which have the authority to reforme them, may know and do their duty, that the people finding and acknowledging the benefit of good Rulers, may thank God for them, and

and labour every one to do their duty : and that seeing the head is not spared, but evils in it punished, they may the more willingly abstaine from tyranny and other evill doings, and do their duties, and so all glorifie God.

CHAP. III.

Whether Kings, Princes, and other politike Governours be subject to Gods laws and the positive laws of their Countries.

HE that noteth the proceedings of Princes and Governours in these our daies, how ambitious they are to usurpe others Dominions, and how negligent they be to see their own well-governed, might think, that they believe, that either there is no God, or that he hath not care over the things of the world : or that they think themselves exempt from Gods laws and power. But the wonderfull overthrow of their devices (when they think themselves most sure and certain) is so manifest, that it is not possible to deny, but that both there is a God, and that he hath care over the things of the World. And his Word is so plaine, that none can gainsay, but that they be subject, and ought to be obedient to Gods laws and Word. For the whole decalogue and every part thereof is as well written to Kings, Princes, and other publike persons, as to private persons. A King may no more commit idolatry, then a private man : he may not take the Name of God in vaine, he may not break the Sabbath, no more then any private man. It is not lawfull for him to disobey his parents, to kill any person contrary to the laws, to be a Whoremonger, to steale, to lie and beare false witnesse, to desire and cover any mans House, Wife, Servant, Maide, Oxe, Asse, or any thing that is anothers, more then any other private man. No, he is bound and charged under greater paines to keep them then any other, because he is both a private man in respect of his own person, and a publike in respect of his office, which may appeare in a great many of places, whereof part I will recite. The holy Ghost by the mouth of a King and Prophet, saith : *And now ye Kings understand, be ye learned that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce with trembling. Kisse the Son,* that is, receive with honour, *lest the Lord be angry, and ye lose the way, when his wrath shall in a moment be kindled.* And in another place thus : *The Lord upon thy right hand shall smite and break in pieces even Kings in the day of his wrath.* Esaias also (the Prophet) saith : *The Lord shall come to judgement against the Princes and Elders of the people.* Likewise saith the Prophet Micheas, speaking to all Princes and Governours under the heads of the house of Iacob, and the leaders of the house of Israel : *Heare ye Princes and Governours, saith Micheas : Should ye not know what were lawfull and right ? But ye hate the good, and love the evill, ye pluck off mens skins, and the flesh from their bones, ye chop them in pieces, as it were into a Caldron, and as flesh into a pot.*

Now the time shall come, that when ye call unto the Lord, he shall not heare you, but hide his face from you, because that through your own imaginations ye have dealt so wickedly. And again he saith: O heare ye Rulers and Governours, ye that abhor the thing that is lawfull, and wrest aside the thing that is straight: ye that build up Sion with bloud, your Majesty and tyranny with doing wrong. For so may Sion and Ierusalem be well expounded: O you Iudges, ye give sentence for gifts: O ye Priests, ye teach for lucre: O ye Prophets, ye prophesie for money: yet will they be taken as those that hold upon God, and say: Is not the Lord among us? How can then any misfortune happen to us? But Sion (that is your Cities) for your sakes shall be plowed like a field: and Ierusalem (that is, your Palaces) shall become an heap of stones, and the hill of the Temple (that is, your Monasteries, Frieries, and Chauntries) shall become an high wood. The Holy Ghost also by the mouth of King Salomon saith: Heare O ye Kings, and understand. O learn ye that be Iudge of the ends of the earth. Give eare ye that rule the multitudes, and delight in much people. For the power is given unto you of the Lord, and the strength from the highest, who shall try your works, and search out your imaginations, how that ye being Officers of his Kingdom, have not kept the law of righteousness, nor walked after his will. Horribly, and that soon, shall he appeare unto you, for upon the most high, he will execute most severe judgement. Mercy is granted unto the simple, but they that be in authority shall be punished. For God which is Lord over all, shall except no mans person, neither shall he regard any mans greatness, for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike, but the mighty shall have the sorer punishment. To you therefore (O Princes) do I speak, that ye may learn wisdom, and not offend.

These sayings need no particular examples to confirme them, but look on all Governours and Rulers named in the whole Bible, or in any other History: and among all ye shall finde, that none hath escaped Gods punishment, but alwaies their iniquity hath been plagued in themselves or their posterity.

The cause and manner of King Sauls punishment, and extinguishing of his posterity, is more commonly known, then needeth any rehearfall. Roboam because he would raige as a tyrant, and not be subject to law nor counsell, had ten Tribes of his Kingdom taken from him, and given to Ieroboam: who also for as much as he contented not himself to be subject to Gods written Word and Law, but fell to his own idolatrous inventions, and caused his Subjects to follow his proceedings: was so stripped from the inheritance of his Crown, that his seed was utterly rooted out.

The end of Achab and Iesabel is well enough understood. And King Ioram for his stout striving against Gods Laws, and the order of his Countrey, was so sore stricken of the Lord with horrible diseases, that at length his guts for extreme anguish flew out of his belly. But whereto bring I out particular examples of Gods plagues and punishments upon Kings and Princes that would not be subject to Gods Laws, and the laws
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of nature, seeing the whole body of the Bible, and Writers of prophane Histories be full of them?

Therefore seeing no King or Governour is exempted from the Laws, hand, and power of God, but that he ought to feare and tremble at it, we may proceed to the other part of the question: that is, whether Kings, Princes, and other Governours ought to be obedient and subject to the positive laws of their Countrey. To discusse this question, the right way and mean is as in all other things, to resort to the fountaines and roots, and not to depend on the rivers and branches. For as if men should admit, that the Church of *Rome* were the Catholike Church, and the Pope the head of it, and Gods onely Vicar on earth, and not seek further how he commeth by that authority: then could no man say, but that all his doings (were they never so wicked) should seem just: so if men should build upon the authority that Kings and Princes usurpe over their subjects, and not seek from whom they have their authority, nor whether that which they use, be just, there could be nothing produced to let their cruell tyranny. But for as much as we see from whence all politike power and authority commeth, that is, from God: and why it was ordained, that is, to maintain justice: we ought (if we will judge rightly) by Gods Word to examine and try this matter.

Saint *Paul* treating who should do obedience, and to whom obedience should be don, saith: *Let every soul be subject to the powers that rule, for there is no power but of God.* There are that would have this word, *Soul*, taken for man, not as he consisteth of soul and body both together, but onely of the flesh: and that so by the word (*Soul*) should be understood onely a worldly man, that is, a layMan, or temporall man (as we terme it) and not a spirituall man, and a Minister of the Church. Whereupon Antichrist, the Bishop of *Rome* seeking for subjects to be under his Kingdom, hath taken for his subjects the Cleargie with ragge and ragge, that to them belongeth: and hath made laws, that they should be his subjects, obedient to him, and not to the politike power and authority, whereunto he leaveth for subjects onely the temporalty.

But in Scripture this word (*Soul*) is taken for every kinde of man, as may appear when it saith, that all the souls (that is, man and woman) that were in the Ark with *Noe*, were eight. And that all the souls of the house of *Iacob*, which came into *Egypt* were threescore and ten. In which numbers it cannot be denied, but that there were as holy and as spirituall persons, as any are, or were in the Kingdome of the Bishop of *Rome*. And *Chrysostom* (a Priest) expounding this text, (*Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*) saith: yea if thou be an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, or whatsoever thou art: for this subjection destroyeth not religion. So that it cannot be denied, but by this word (*Soul*) is comprehended, every person, and none excepted. Now touching this word (*Power*) some would have it interpreted for all those persons that execute justice, be he



Emperour, King, Major, Shreefe, Constable, Horseholder, or never so low: and some would have it to be interpreted onely of Kings and chiefest Officers. But it is here to be taken for the ministry and authority, that all officers of justice do execute: and so it may appeare by Christs own words, where he saith: *The Kings of the Nations rule over them, and those that exercise authority or power, be called gracious Beuefactours, or wel-doers.* For as all men and women that seem to live together in the holy ordinance of Matrimony, be not man and wife, for it may be, that the man hath another wife living, or the wife another husband, or that they came not together for the love of God onely, and to avoid sin, but for sensuality, and to get riches, and so the ordinance it self is one thing, and the persons, that is, the man and woman another: even so is the politike power or authority being the ordinance and good gift of God, one thing, and the person that executeth the same (be he King or Emperour) another thing. The ordinance being godly, the man may be evill, and not of God, nor come thereto by God, as the Prophet Osee saith: *They have made them a King, and not through me: a Prince, and not through my counsel & wil.*

Neither is that power and authority which Kings, Princes, and other ministers of justice exercise, onely called a power: but also the authority that parents have over their children, and Masters over their servants, is also called a power: and neither be the Parents nor Masters the power it self, but they be ministers and executours of the power, being given unto them by God: which also S. Paul in another place plainly sheweth, saying to Titus: *Warne them to be subject to the Principalities and powers.* Which some interpret, Princes and powers, to make a distinction between the Minister and the ministry. And it followeth: *to obey the Officers*, so that alwaies the difference may be perceived. So then, if by this word (*Soul*) is meant every person spirituall and temporall, man and woman: and by this word (*power*) the authority that Kings and Princes execute, thou cannot Kings and Princes but be contained under this generall word (*Soule*) as well as others. And they being but executours of Gods Laws, and mens just ordinances, but also not exempted from them, but be bound to be subject and obedient unto them. For good and just laws of man be Gods power and ordinances, and they are but ministers of the laws, and not the laws it self. And if they were exempt from the laws, and so it were lawfull for them to do what them lusteth, their authority being of God, it might be said, that God allowed their tyranny, robbery of their subjects, killing them without law, and so God the authour of evill: which were a great blasphemy. *Iustini-*an the Emperour well considered when he made this saying, to be put into the body of the laws. It is a worthy saying (saith he) for the Majesty of him that is in authority, to confesse that the Prince is subject to the laws, the authority of the Prince doth so much depend on the authority of the laws. And certainly it is more honour then the honour of the Empire, to submit

submit the Principality unto the laws. For indeed laws be made, that the wilfull self-will of men should not rule, but that they should have a line to lead them, as they might not go out of the way of justice: and that (if any would say, they did them wrong) they might alleage the law for their warrant and authority. It is also a principle of all laws grounded on the law of nature, that every man should use himself and be obedient to that law, that he will others be bound unto. For otherwise he taketh away that equality (for there is no difference between the head and foot, concerning the use and benefit of the laws) whereby Common-wealths be maintained and kept up. What equality (I beseech you) should there be, where the Subject should do to his Ruler all the Ruler would: and the Ruler to the subject, that the Ruler lusted? The good Emperour *Trajanus* (whom for his just behaviour the Senate of *Rome* took to be a god) being in possession of his office, and minding to shew, that he was not ordained to be a tyrant, but to see the people wel governed, and that, albeit he was the minister of the laws, yet was he subject to the laws, took a sword, and gave it to the Captain of the Horsemen, and said: *Take this sword, use it for me against mine enemies in just causes: and if I my self do not justly use it, then use it against me.* *Zaleucus* the ruler and maker of laws to the *Locres*, when he made this law, that an advouterour should be punished with the losse of both his eyes, and his son had offended the same, albeit the people made great intercession that his paines might be pardoned him, he would not consent unto it, but pulled out one of his sons eyes, to fulfill and keep the law, he suffered one of his own eyes also to be pulled out.

But thou wilt say: What have we to do with Ethnicks? why should we be ordred by Ethnicks doings? I answer, that when Ethnicks do by nature that thou art bound also to do, not onely by nature, but by the Laws of God and man, such Ethnicks shall rise in the universall judgement, to accuse thee, and work thy condemnation. The Bishop of *Romes* laws (which albeit he use not in himself, yet will he have them practised in others) say thus: *It is requisite and just, that a Prince obey his own laws. For then may he look that others shall keep his laws, when he himself hath them in honour. Justice will, that Princes be obedient and bound to their own laws, and that they cannot in their own doings condemn those laws which they prescribe unto others. The authority of their saying is just and indifferent, if that they suffer not themselves to do that they prohibite unto their people.* This saith the Bishop of *Romes* law. And upon this principle after, in the great generall Counsell of *Lateran*, which Pope *Innocent* the third held, it may seem, it was ordained and decreed (as they say) that when Kings and Princes that acknowledge no Superiour, should fall out among themselves, or should misuse their power and authority over their subjects, that then the matter should be heard and corrected by the Bishop of *Rome*.

But here it may be asked, who did this justice on Kings and Princes before that time, sith it was but then committed to the Bishop of *Rome*.

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To that at this time we shall not need to answer, for that we do not seek perfectly to know who should be judge, but onely to declare and prove, that Kings and Princes ought, both by Gods law, the law of nature, mans laws, and good reason, to be obedient and subject to the positive laws of their Countrey, and may not break them, and that they be not exempt from them, nor may dispence with them, unlesse the makers of the laws give them expresse authority so to do.

Who shall be the Kings Iudges, hereafter thou shalt hear.

C H A P. I V.

In what things, and how far Subjects are bound to obey their Princes and Governours.

AS the body of man is knit and kept together in due proportion by the sinews, so is every Common-wealth kept & mainteined in good order by obedience. But as if the sinews be too much racked and stretch- ed out, or too much shrinked together, it breedeth wondersfull paines and deformity in mans body: so if obedience be too much or too little in a Common-wealth, it causeth much evill and disorder. For too much maketh the Governours to forget their vocation, and to usurpe upon their Subjects: too little breedeth a licentious liberty, and maketh the people to forget their duty. And so both waies the Common-wealth groweth out of order, and at length commeth to havock and utter destruction.

Some there be that will have too little obedience, as the Anabaptists. For they because they heare of a Christian liberty, would have all poli- tike power taken away: and so indeed no obedience.

Others (as the English Papists) rack and stretch out obedience too much, and will needs have civell power obeyed in all things, and that whatsoever it commandeth, without respect it ought and must be done. But both of them be in great errors. For the Anabaptists mistake Chri- stian liberty, thinking that men may live without sin, and forget the fall of man, whereby he was brought into such misery, that he is no more a- ble to rule himself, then one beast is able to rule another: and that therefore God ordained civill power (his minister) to rule him, and to call him back, whensoever he should passe the limits of his duty, and would that an obedience should be given unto him.

And the Papists neither consider the degrees of powers, nor over what things civill power hath authority, nor yet how far Subjects ought to o- bey their Governours. And this they do not for lack of knowledge, but of a spirituall malice, because it maketh against their purpose, that the truth should be disclosed.

If any Christian Prince should go about to redresse the abuses of the Sacraments (brought in and devised by the Papists to maintain their Kingdom) to correct their abominable life, their whoredome, buggery, drun-

drunkennelle, pride, and such like vices: then is he another *Ozias*, another *Osa*, an heretike, a schismatike, cursed from top to toe, with Book, Bell, and Candle, as black as a pot side: no obedience of the Subjects ought to be given to him. But if he be contented to winke at their abominations, to run with them, to dishonour God, to commit idolatry, to kill the true Ministers and Confessours of Christ, to destroy the poore Innocents which abhor the Papists wicked vices, and be desirous that Gods Kingdom should be promoted, that is, be another *Ezechias*, a *Iosias*, a Catholike Prince, a dear Son of the Church, the Protectour of the Church, the Defendour of the Faith, the Fosterour of the Church, a Confessour while he liveth, after his death a Saint (yea a Saint Devill) Canonized with *Ora pro nobis*: when *Beelzebub* danceth at his Dirige.

Such a one (say they) must be obeyed in all things, none may speak against his proceedings, for he that resisteth the ordinance of God, and he that resisteth, purchaseth to himself dampnation: as though to leave evill undone, and to do good, were to resist the power. And here also they wring this saying of Saint Peter (*Servants obey your Masters, although they be froward and churlish*) to free Subjects under a King: as if bondmen and freemen were all one, and Kings and bondmens Lords had like authority. So with violent wringing, and false applying of Gods health-giving Word, *Caiphas* and *Herod* rid cheek by cheek, and walkt arme in arme, with both the swords and the Crosse before them. Friend to the one, friend to both: and he that is an Heretike with *Caiphas*, must be a traytour to *Herod*.

Thus they go about to blear mens eyes to confirme and increase their devillish kingdom. But Popish Prelats practises are no warrant to discharge a Christian mans conscience. He must seek what God will have him do, and not what the subtilty and violence of wicked men will force him to do. He may not rob *Peter* to cloath *Paul*, nor take from God his due to give it unto civill power: neither may he make confusion of the powers, but yeeld unto every one that is his due, nor yet obeying the inferiours commandement, leave the Commandement of the Highest undone. *Yeeld unto Cesar, those things that be Cesars* (saith Christ) *and unto God those things that be Gods*. Civill power is a power and ordinance of God, appointed to certain things, but no generall Minister over all things. God hath not given it power over the one, and the best part of man, that is, the soul and conscience of man, but onely over the other, and the worst part of man, that is, the body, and those things that belong unto this temporall life of man.

And yet over that part with the appurtenances, hath he not onely not given man the whole power, and stripped himself quite of all the authority, but also he hath reserved to himself the power thereof. For we read, that when civill power (his Minister) hath been negligent in doing his duty, or winked at the evill life of the people, God hath not holden his

his hand, but hath whipped and plagued such people, as he did the Sodomites, Gomorians, and divers times the Iews.

And in our dayes his hand is not shortned, but he hath, and daily doth plague blasphemours, whoremongers, drunkards, murtherers, theeves, traytours, tyrants, such as in mans sight no man durst, or at the least would touch: some with incurable plagues of their body, some with losse of their children, some with losse of their goods, and some with shamefull deaths.

And contrariwise, when the worldly powers have violently, tyrannously, over sharply, and wrongfully oppressed and condemned innocents, God (to testifie that he hath also power of the body) hath many times in all ages mightily and miraculously delivered his people from the power of tyrants: as the Israelites from *Pharao*, *Mordochus* from *Hamon*, *Susanna* from the lecherous Iudges: *Sedrach*, *Mefach*, and *Abednego* from the burning Oven: *Daniel* from the Lions Den, *Peter* from *Herod*, and infinite other examples we have in Scriptures and Histories. And the like have not wanted in our dayes also, if we will advisedly consider the condition and state of our time, So that we see God to be the supreme power of the whole man, as well to punish as to deliver at his own will.

God is the highest power, yea the power of powers, from him is derived all power. All people be his servants, made to serve and glorifie him. All other powers are but his ministers, set to oversee that every one behave himself as he ought, toward God, and to do those things, that he is justly commanded to do, by God.

Whatsoever God commandeth man to do, he ought not to consider the matter, but straight to obey the commander. For we are sure, what he commandeth, is just and right: for from him that is altogether just and right, no injustice nor wrong can come.

So did *Abraham*, when contrary to that, seemed to be right and just, (yea contrary to Gods generall Commandement) he made himself ready to kill and offer in sacrifice his onely promised son *Isaac*, according to Gods speciall Commandement. So did also the Children of *Israel*, contrary to the generall Commandement (*Thou shalt not steal*) rob, and spoile the Egyptians, by Gods speciall Commandement. And so did *Phinees*, who albeit he were no Magistrate, yet of a great zeal by the inward motion of Gods Spirit, thrust his sword thorow those two whom he found committing whore dome.

But contrary in mans commandements, men ought to consider the matter, and not the man. For all men whatsoever, ministry or vocation they exercise, are but men, and so may erre. We see Counsels against Counsels, Parliaments against Parliaments, Commandement against Commandement, this day one thing, to morrow another. It is not the mans warrant that can discharge thee, but it is the thing it self that

that must justifie thee. It is the matter that will accuse thee, and defend thee: acquit thee, and condemne thee; when thou shalt come before the Thorne of the Highest, and everlasting power, where no temporal power will appear for thee, to make answer, or to defend thee: but thou thy self must answer for thy self, and for whatsoever thou hast done. And therefore Christian men ought well to consider, and weigh mens commandements, before they be hasty to do them, to see if they be contrary or repugnant to Gods Commandements and justice: which if they be, they are cruell and evill, and ought not to be obeyed. We have this speciall Commandement from God the Highest power, oft repeated by the holy Ghost. Forbeare to do evill, and do that is good. S. Paul (the true teacher of obedience) teacheth, that ciuill power and Princes be not ordained to be a terror to those that do well, but to those that do evill, and will not that me should do what soever the power commandeth, but saith, wilt thou not feare the power? *Do that is good, and thou shalt have praise of it: for it is the Minister of God ordained for thy benefit, and not to thy destruction. But if thou do that is evill, then feare: for it carrieth not the sword in vaine: for it is the Minister of God, a revenger and executioner, to punish him that shall do evill.* And therefore it is ordanied, that evill might be taken away. Man must be subject, not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake. For not to obey the power, that defendeth the good and vertuous, and punisheth the evill and wicked, is deadly sin. And the self-same also S. Peter teacheth. Wherefore the mark that all men ought to shoot at, is to do good, and in no wise to do evill, whosoever commandeth it. If the minister of the civill power command thee to honour and glorifie God, as God will be honoured, to defend (with thy person and goods) thy Countrey against the enemies, to do such things as before the wealth and benefit of thy Countrey: thou art bound to do it: for it is good, and God will have thee to do it. And if thou do it not, thou sinnest against God, and iustly deserveest the punishment, not onely of the power, but of everlasting damnation. But if the ministers of the civill power command thee to dishonour God, to commit idolatry, to kill an innocent, to fight against thy Countrey, to give or lend that thou hast, to such as minde the subversion and destruction of thy Countrey, or to maintain them in their wickednesse, thou oughtest not to do it, but to leave it undone: for it is evill, and God (the supreme and highest power) will not that thou shouldest do it. The Apostles in time of persecution did not onely give us an example so to do, when the worldly powers would have had them to follow their proceedings, but also left us a lesson so to do. God must be obeyed (say they) rather then men. And this lesson even from the beginning before it was written, was by the holy Ghost printed in mans heart. When Pharaο the tyrant

commanded the Midwives of the Egyptians, to kill all the male children that should be borne of the Israelites wives : Thinke ye, he did onely command them ? No without doubt. Ye may be sure, he commanded not onely upon threatned paines, but also promised them largely: and perchance as largely as those do, that being desirous of children, procure the Midwives to say, they be with child, when their belly is puffed up with the dropie or molle, and having bleared the common peoples eyes with processioning, *Te Deum* singing, and bonfire banqueting, use all Ceremonies and crying out, whilst another birds egge is laid in the nest. But these good Midwives fearing God (the high Power) who had commanded them, not to kill, would not obey this tyrant *Pharaohs* commandement, but left it undone.

When that jolly *Queen Iesabel* commanded, that the Prophets of God should be destroyed, that none should be left to speake against her Idols, but that all men should follow her proceedings: did *Abdias* the chief Officer to the King her husband say, your Grace doth very well to rid the World of them, for those that worship the true living God, cannot be but traytours to my Sovereigne Lord and Master the King your husband, and to your Grace: and it is these heretikes, that bewitch and conjure you, that your Grace cannot be delivered of your child, nor sleep quietly in your bed: let me alone, I will finde the meanes to dispatch them all, onely have your Grace a good opinion of me, and thinke I am your owne? No, *Abdias* (a man fearing God, and knowing this commandement to be a wicked womans will) did clean contrary to her commandement, and hid and preserved an hundred of the Prophets under the earth in Caves. When the wicked K. *Saul* commanded his own household waiters, and familiar servants, to kill the Priest *Abimelech* and his children, for hatred to *David*: did those his own nearest waiting servants flatter him forward, and said: your Majesty shall never be in safety and quiet so long as this traytour and his prating children (that are alwayes in their Sermons and Bookes, meddling of the Kings matters) be suffred to live? we will be your true obedient servants, we will beleve as the King beleeveth, we will do as the King biddeth us, according to our most bounden duty of allegiance, we shall soon ease your Highnesse of this grief: Other of your Graces Chaplains be more meet for that room, then this hypocrite traytour? No, they used no such Court cruelty, but considering God to be the supreme power, and seeing *Abimelech* (by his answers) and his household to be guiltlesse of such matter in forme and intent, as (by *Doeges* accusation) *Saul* charged him withall, they refused to kill any of them, or once to lay violent hands upon them, but plainly and utterly (being yet the King true servants and subjects) denied to obey the Kings unlawful commandement. And when the same hypocrite *Saul* commanded his servants or souldiers to kill noble *Ionathas* his son.

son, who for necessity had taken a little honey to recover his strength contrary to the King his fathers commandement: did they say, let us kill him as we be killed, so shal some of us be made be Kings lieutenants, we shall be an inch nearer to the succession, we shall haue lands possessions, goods, and offices parted among us; let us not stick to do it. When he is dispatched out of the world, he can make no revenge, for dead men do no harme. No, no, clean contrary. They knew that innocent *Abels* blood did cry to the Lord: *Vengeance, vengeance, vengeance*. And that albeit *Caine* had a mark, that no man might lawfully kill him in this life, yet hangeth he now (as good writers say) in chaines in hell. And therefore they would not obey the wicked & cruell tyrants commandement, but knowing that God will not haue innocents blood shed, but innocents before tyrants defended, they tooke upon them the defence of the Good sonne, against the tyrannicall hypocrite, and unnatural Father. *Iulian* the Emperour, albeit he was an Apostata from Christ, & a great persecuter of Christs Church, yet had he under him Souldiers that professed Christ. When he commanded them to set forward to fight for the defence of the Common-wealth, they obeyed him, and did it willingly, but did they before they were commanded, seek for the Christians, and bring them to the one and twenty Commissioners, or to the Bishops Colehouse? or when he willed and commanded them to destroy such as would not deny Christ, and follow his proceedings, worshipping Idols, did they bring them to the fire, and stand about, that they should not speake, and to see, that none should come neare them, to comfort and strengthen them in their faith? Or when they spake, did they cleave their heads in pieces with their Holberds, or stop their mouths with their bills? No, they confessed, that in that the Emperour of Heaven, the Almighty God (and not the Emperour of the earth, a wicked man, and a rebell against God) was their Emperour and Captain: and therein they would not obey *Iulian*, nor do that he commanded in that behalf. And this answer both *S. Ambrose* and *S. Augustine*, yea and the Papists (although they themselves do not so) propound and set forth for a Christian doctrine, and a Catholike example, how Christians and good subjects should behave themselves toward wicked Princes, and their wicked commandements: That is, in no wise to obey them, but to leave them undone. And as men ought not to obey their superiours, that shall command them to do any thing against Gods word, or the laws of nature: so may they not do that they shall command them contrary to ciuill justice, or to the hurt of the whole State. Neither will good Princes attempt or go about any such thing: for it is the next way to bring them out of their seats, and to make them of Kings no Kings. How can that head live and continue, where the body is consumed & dissolved? And how can that body be lusty, where the sinews (the laws) are broken, and justice (the marrow that should nourish it) utterly wasted and decayed?

Antiochus the third King of *Syria* wrote thus to all the Cities of his Dominion, that if he did command any thing that should be contrary to the laws, they should not passe there on, but that rather they should think, it was stolne or forged without his knowledge, considering that the Prince or Governour is nothing else but the minister of the laws. And this same saying of this most noble King seemed to be so just and reasonable, that it is taken for a common principle, how subjects should know, when they should do that they be commanded, and when they ought not.

Likewise a Bishop of *Rome* called *Alexander* the third, wrote to an Archbishop, to do a thing which seemed to the Archbishop to be unreasonable, and contrary to the laws: the Pope perceiving that the Bishop was offended with his writing, and would not do that he required: desired him not to be offended, but that if there were cause, why he thought he should not do that he required, he would advertise him, and he therewith would be satisfied.

This is a Popes saying: which who is so hardy to deny to be of lesse authority then a law? yea no fellow, but above Gods Word? Whereupon this is a generall rule, that the Pope is not to be obeyed, but in lawfull and honest things. And so by good argument from the more to the lesse, that Princes (being but footstools and stirrop-holders to Popes) commanding their subjects that is not godly, not just, not lawfull, or hurtfull to their Countrey, ought not be obeyed, but withstood. For the subjects ought not (agaist nature) to further their own destruction but to seek their own salvation: not to manitain evill, but to suppress evill: for not onely the doers, but also the consentors to evill, shall be punished, say both Gods and mans laws. And men ought to have more respect to thier Countrey then to their Prince: to the Common-wealth, then to any one person. For the Countrey and Common-wealth is a degree aboue the King. Next unto God, men ought to love their Countrey, and the whole Common-wealth, before any member of it: as Kings and Princes (be they never so great) are but members: and Common-wealths may stand well enough and flourish, albeit there be no Kings, but contrariwise without a Common-wealth there can be no King. Common-wealths and Realms may live, whē the head is cut off, and may put on a new head, that is, make them a new Governour, when they see their old head seek to much his own will, and not the wealth of the whole body, for the which he was onely ordained. Add by that justice and law, that lately hath been executed in *England* (if it may be called justice and law) it should appear, that the ministers of civill power do sometimes command that, that the subjects ought not to do.

When the innocent Lady *Jane* contrary to her will, yea by force, with tears dropping down her cheeks, suffered her self to be called
Queen

Queen of *England*: yet ye see, because she consented to that which was not by civill justice lawfull, she and her husband for company suffered the paines of traytours, both heads buried in one pit.

When the blessed man of God, *Thomas Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* did what he might to resist to subscribe to King *Edwards* will, whereby his two sisters, the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth* should have been wrongfully dis-inherited: yet because he afterward (to content the Kings minde and commandement, yet indeed to save the innocent King from the obedience of most wicked trayterous tyrants) did subscribe unto it against his will: was it not laid unto him by the Wicked Iudge *Morgan* (whom God not long after plagued with taking away his wits that was a fool before) that he ought not to do any thing unlawfull, by commandement of any power? And so he (an innocent) picked out among a great number of very evill doers (to satisfie the law) was condemned as a traytour before he suffered as a Martyr. Were not the Images and Roodlofts in *England* destroyed by authority of civill power? And doth not *Boner* the Arch-butcher of *London* for all that force them, that obeyed the authority (because he saith, it was not lawfull) to make them up again at theirown charges? But *Boner*, thou that allowest nothing to be well done (by whatsoever authority it be done) except it be lawfull nor nothing to be lawfull, that is not agreeing to thy Canon laws: I have to say to thee. Stand still awhile, whilst I rub thee. Tell me plainly, and face not out a lie, as thou art wont: speak not one thing, and think another, as thy nature is: once in thy life tell the truth, and shame thy master the Devill. If thou were the son of the earth by thy fathers side, and of an arrant Whore by the mother, and so a bastard: by what authority sayest thou thy Masse, when thy laws suffer no bastards to be Priests without, dispensation? how comcest thou to be a Bishop, when thy laws say, thou maist be no Priest? How be they judgements lawfull, when thou by they Canons maist be no judge? All men know, that thy mother when thou wast begotten, was an Whore.

The common voice and fame saith, and the truth is, that albeit one *Boner* (a bare whip-iack) for lucre of money, took upon him to be thy father, and then to marry thy mother, yet thou wast parson *Savages* bastard: and of that race come thy consins *Wimslow* they Arch-deacon of *London* (a meet eye for such a grosse head) and *Wimslow* his brother, and a great many more notable.

These things be so evident and plaine, thar thou canst not (without blushing) deny them: neither thou wilt (I know) deny them. For thou boastest and braggest much, that thou comcest of gentile bloud.

But thou wilt say, thou hast a Bull of dispensation from the Pope. I require to know, what time it was granted. Thou saist, when thou

wast at *Rome*. It is even that I required. That wast indeed at *Rome*, protector for the Princes Dowager, the *Queene Mother*, in the cause of devorce between King *Henry the VIII.* and her.

When thou sawest that no Prebends, no Archdeaconies, no Bishopricks were to be gotten by continuing on her part, thou betrayedst her cause, and becamest of Counsell with the King. O noble Counsellour. O severe and lawfull Iudge.

A meet man to sit in condemnation of so many innocents: yea more meet to stand on the Pillory, then in a Pulpit: to be tyed up in a Boare Frank, then walk in the Princes chamber: To weare a Tybourn tippet, then a gray amise. But what if thou have no dispensation? What a murtherour art thou of true Englishmen? What a tormentour of the people of God? How hast thou deceiued the Earles of *Oxford* and *Sussex* the Lord *Rich*, the Majors and Shreeves of *London*, and many other of the Nobility, Gentlemen, and Commons, forcing them to wash their hands in innocent blood with thee? What consciences may they haue through thee? How canst thou salve their wounded soules? But thou wilt say, It maketh no matter. The Cleargie is faire ridde of a great many of enimies. A dead man can do no hurt. But be thou certaine, thou wilt be deceiued. Whatsoever becommeth of thy Butcherly body, I wish thy soule to be saved. Repent therefore in time: become *Paul of Saul*.

When the Prince of *Sebeth* called *Adonisebech* cut off the hands and feet of seventy Kings, and made them live by licking up the Crums that fell under the Table, he thought those poore maimed men could do him no hurt: But God payed him home. For he himselfe had his hands and feet cut off, and was forced to pick up crums under the Table, as he had forced other Kings.

King *Abimelech* caused his threescore and ten brethren by the Fathers side, to be all killed, because he might Reygne alone: he thought all was cock-sure, and so did they that holpe him to execute so horrible an act. But what? did they escape? No, God suffered the Divell to make discord betweene the King and his deare darlings, and first they were justly destroyed by their King, and after he himselfe having his head broken with a peice of stone let fall out of a weake womans hands, for shame willed his servant to kill him with a sword, that it should not be reported a woman had killed him. *K. Achab* and *Queen Iesabell* thought none should revenge poore *Naboths* death: but contrary to their expectations, by Gods justice: Dogs slobbered and licked up the blood of them both. *Queen Athalia* thought her selfe sure when she had killed all the Kings Progeny, but God served her with the like sawce: she reigned not long but shee was killed. All the misery and mischief in the Realm of *Naples* came by a woman, called *Q. Ioan* (a woman of much lust) who after shee had been a while married to a noble Gentle-

ACT IV.

Gentleman, and waxed weary of his worke, caused him to be hanged out of an open Gallery in the top of the house (because no man should see him) and not after the poore theeves manner with an halter of Hemp, but with a rope of Gold, wrought with her own and her sisters, *Madam Mary Malecasta* their own fingers: She triumpheth for a while and after, besides an unspeakable number of privy marriages she made foure by day in a little space, but at length God plagued her, and she was hanged in that place, where shee before hanged her husband.

When those that conspired the death of the two brethren, the Admirall and the protectour had brought it to passe, so as they might rob the King, and spoile the Realme at their pleasure: did they at length escape scot free? No. some of them by the just judgment of God were plagued with the like punishment, with the same axe, upon the self-same block, and in the same place. And the rest hereafter are not unlike without repentance (which they shew not) to receive their rewards, either in themselves, or their Posterity. O wonderfull workes, O just judgement of God, that hateth those that do evill, and destroyeth those that worke mischief, that abhorreth bloud-thirstie people, and those that have double hearts, and treble tongues.

But *Boner*, I may not leave thee thus. Give me leave (*Savage Boner*) to dispute this matter of lawfull and not unlawfull, a little more with thee. If thou and the rest of the traytours thy companions, should perswade the friendlesse *Queen of England* (whom ye have enchanted) to give over the Towns of *Calice* and *Barwick*, to a strange Prince, and (contrary to her Oath not to diminish any parts of the Rights of the Crown, and liberties of the people, which Kings of *England* at their Coronation in times past made, and which she also made to her subjects, when she was Crowned, before she was a perfect *Queen*) she followed your counsell, and some noble Personage sent thither to deliver the keyes, and the Deputy and Garison did not strike off the Messengers head, and set it on the Gates, but obeyed it, and not resisted it: wert not thou and thy fellows Traytours for perswading her so to do? had not she broken her Oath and promise? was not the Attorney a Traytour for doing that he was commanded? Were not the Deputy and Garison traytours for suffering it to be done? Answer. What canst thou say for thy self and thy fellows? Guilty, or not guilty? Thou standest mute. What not a word? Thou art sure, your good will, will stand you in as good stead, as the deed done. Neither do ye passe, though the Crows be fed with your carrion karcases, and the Devill with your soules, so ye may leave behind you a fame, that by your traychery, the Laity of *England* was destroyed, and the Spirituality restored to their pompe and Lordly power.

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But before the halter stop thy winde, *Bener*, let us know, what thou canst say for her. Saist thou, Princes be not bound by their oaths and promises? enough, What for the rest? let them remember that not long ago their neighbour *Monsieur Vervin*, Captain of *Boloigne* was punished as a traytour, for that by necessity and extremity of force he rendred up *Boloigne* to King *Henry* the eighth, and did not die in the defence of it. But thou wilt say, he did it without commandement of his master: and these shall do it by commandement of their masters. But what if the commandement be not lawfull? dost thou not say thy self, it is not to be obeyed? Thou saist to others, that none may do that is not lawfull for any commandement. But thou wilt say: It is the *Queens* own, and she may lawfully do with her own what she lusteth. What if it be denyed to be her own? But thou wilt say, she hath the *Crown* by inheritance, and may dispose of the *Realm*, and every part of the *Realm*, as pleaseth her. But, I answer: that albeit she have it by inheritance, yet she hath it with an oath, law and condition to keep and maintain it, not to depart with, or diminish it. If she have no more right to the *Realm* then her Father had, and her Father as much as ever any King of *England*: what needed he to require the consent of the *Nobility* and *Commons* (by *Parliament*) to give the *Crown* to his daughter, or any other?

But thou wilt say, it was more then needed: for without consent of the *Parliament*, he might do with the *Realm*, and every part thereof, what it pleased him. Take heed what thou saiest. If that be true, that King *Henry* might do with it without consent of the *Parliament*: how is the Lady *Mary* Queen? Why might not King *Edward* his Son (a Prince borne in lawfull Matrimony, and right heire to the *Crown*) bequeath the *Crown* where he would, and as he did? Take heed what thou dost. If the King and Queen give thee a thousand pardons, yet shalt thou be found a rank traytour to the *Realm* of *England*. For albeit the King or Queen of a *Realm* have the *Crown* never justly, yet may they not dispose of the *Crown* or *Realm* as it pleaseth them. They have the *Crown* to minister justice, but the *Realm* being a body of freemen, and not of bondmen, he nor she cannot give or sell away the holds and Forts (as *Calice* and *Barwick* or such like) without the consent of the *Commons*: for it was purchased with their bloud and money. Yea and thine own Popes laws (where by thou measurest all things to be lawfull, or not lawfull) say, that if a King or Governour of any *Relam* go about to diminish the *Regalities* and *Rights* of his *Crown*, he ought to be deposed. Thus did Pope *Honorius* the third command, that the *Archbish.* of *Collossa* and his *Suffragans* to deprive a King of *Hungary* which went about to wast, sell, and give a way the *Regalities* and *Rites* of his *Crown*, unlesse in time he ceased and called back that he had done. It is so plaine, thou canst

canst not deny it. But I see, *Boner*, I have chafed thee too much: thy cheeks blush and swell for very anger. *M.D. Chadsey*, *M.D. Pendleton*, *M. Cofins*, or some of you Chaplains, get my Lord a cup of Sack, to comfort his spirits. My Lord and I agree almost like Bells: we jarre somewhat, but not much, his Lordship meaneth that men ought to be alwaies, but not at all times honest. But I say, they must be honest alwaies, and at all times. His Lordship would faine have a Placard or proviso for him and his, that they might sometimes (that is from the beginning to the end of the week) play their parts. But I say, albeit his Lordship have such a priviledge, yet may no honest man at any time do that is not honest, just, & lawfull, by Emperors, Kings, Queens: no, neither his commandement. For if those things which onely in mens opinions seem to be unlawful, may by no authority be done, and those that do them, be no lesse to be punished, then if they had done them without authority: how much lesse may such things by any commandement be committed, that are indeed unlawfull: but shal be punished according to the deserts, by whatsoever power or authority they be executed? Men therefore ought to take heed, that by going about to come out of the smoke, they fall not into the fire: & by pleasing of men, they ran not into the displeasure of God. If mens ordinances and laws, or the Governours authority and commandement were a sufficient discharge for men to do whatsoever were prescribed or commanded unto them, tell me (I beseech thee) why did *Esaia* the Prophet suffer rather to be sawed in pieces, then to follow the proceedings of *Manasses*? why did *Daniel* not follow *K. Darius* and his Counsels commandement, forbearing to worship the true God: but was content to be cast to the Lions? why did not the three Children, *Sedrach*, *Mefach*, and *Abednego*, obey *Nebuchadnezar* in worshipping the golden Idoll, and so avoid the hot burning Furnace? why did *Eliazarus* submit himself to death, and not dissemble? why did he not eat his own meat, and abstaine from Pork-flesh, that the King commanded the Jews to eat, contrary to the laws, and say that he had eaten it, as his old trusty friends of the Court counselled him? why did he not sue for a Bull or pardon of *Antiochus*, that he might use his own religion, as our English halting Gospellers do of the Pope, confessing his authority, which is the thing that he onely passeth upon: and careth not how many souls he led to the Devill? Why did not the seven brethren and their mother obey the Kings commandement, and save their lives and goods, as the ancient *Catharists*, and new *Purists* do, saying: all things be pure to the pure, and no Idolatry nor filthinesse can infect him that is pure and cleane? or why did they not say, as the *Prescicionists* and *Papists* did in times past, and as the Merchants, *Hill* and *Peterson* with their double tongued traine, and dissembling sect, at this present say,

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that it is lawfull, and no more, to say one thing, and do another, to lie with the lips, so they have the truth in the heart? to deny God in words and works, so they confesse him in thought and minde? to dance with the Devill all day, and lodge with Christ at night? Why did Paul suffer so many imprisonments, so much beating, scourging, and tormenting? And why at length did he not save his life, and follow the Emperour Neroes commandement? Why did not the Prophets, the Apostles, and so many thousands of Martyrs, follow the wicked tyrants commandements and proceedings, but resisted them, and with their blood testified, that they allowed them not? But all these holy mens doings, in confessing and obeying the highest power God, and not the inferiour powers in wicked and evill things, are commended and left by the holy Ghost to us in holy Scripture to follow and do the like. If mens laws and commandements were a sufficient warrant to men, to do whatsoever is commanded them: tell me (I pray thee) to what purpose is suffering of persecution so oft repeated, so earnestly taught, so highly commended in Scripture? Christ saith: *He that taketh not up his Crosse and followeth me, is not meet for me.* And again: *Blessed be those that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall curse you, and persecute you, and speak all evill against you, lying for my sake: be glad and rejoyce, for your reward is plentiful in Heaven.* So did they persecute the Prophets that were before you. And the Apostle saith: *All that will live godly in Christ Iesus, shall suffer persecution.* And so in a great number of places of Scriptures.

By such persecution cannot be meant the injuries that private man doth to private man: for God hath ordained a mean, that is, the Magistrate to redresse them. But by persecution is meant the injuries and tyranny that the Magistrates and Governours exercise over Gods people. For they not contented to let a Christian man have justice in civill things against a Papist, nor an honest man against such a one as favoureth their proceedings, do themselves spoile the Christians, and honest of their goods: and not onely spoile them, but by all manner of force, violence, and snares, seek their life and blood, not onely in their own Countrey, but where they have no authority, because they will not obey their commandements, and follow their wicked proceedings.

God will have his tried by persecution, that the world may see, who love the chief power, more then the inferiour powers: his commandements, more then mens fond proceedings: the soul, more then the flesh: the sure and everlasting inheritance of Heaven, more then the uncertain and temporall possessions of this world. Yea he hath no other way to let the difference appeare to mens eyes between his servants, and Princes Parasites, then onely by persecution. Papists, Turks,

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Turks, Iews, Gentiles can dissemble, they can seem to fast, to pray, to give almes, to build Monasteries, and Chauntries, and to do outward works gaie to the eye, because they would be accounted holy of men, but to refuse to do that is evill for justice sake, to be slandered, spoke evill of, whipped, scourged, spoiled of their goods, killed of the worldly Princes and tyrants, rather then they would disobey God, and forsake Christ: this can neither Papists nor Turks, Iews nor Gentiles, nor none other do, but ouely the Elect of God. And yet God doth not so severely require of his people, that they should straight offer themselves to the Princes slaughterhouse, their necks to the halter, their heads to the block, their bloud to make Princes puddings, their entrailles to make tripes, their quarters to be boiled or roasted: but he hath left them a speciall rule and commandement, whereby to guide themselves, that is, in all things to seek first the Kingdom of God. If he that is persecuted, feel in his conscience, that he may do God greater service and glory by suffering then by fleeing, he ought rather to suffer a thousand deaths, then to flee one foot. But if his conscience witnesse with him, that he may do God greater glory by fleeing then by tarrying, he ought not to tempt God with tarrying, but is bound by commandement to depart. *If they persecute you in one City (saith Christ) flee into another.* And he did not onely teach it, but did it himself, forsaking Iewry, and going into Galile, when he heard Iohn Baptist was laid by the heels, because the time was not yet come, wherein he was appointed to glorifie God. And because God would have a refuge place, and sanctuary for his, when such tyranny and persecution should be executed, he would never suffer the power and ambitious tyrants, to make one perfect Monarchie of all, but when they had done their best to bring all together, and the string had been almost in the nick of the Bow, (as the proverb is) it hath suddenly slippt, and not onely destroyed the doer, but it hath fallen into a great many more shivers then ever it was before. Thus God dallieth and playeth with his Puppets, the Princelings of this World.

Wherefore since we be Gods people and servants, and he our Lord and the highest power: and the Princes of the World be but his ministers and inferiour powers, ordained to do good, and uot evill: we ought to seek chiefly to do Gods Commandements before all mens, to please God rather then men. For the Princes (do they the worst they can) can but take from men their goods and lives: but God can take from us both goods and body, and cast both body and soul into hell. And yet should not they be able to work their will in this world, nor execute their malice, if men would behave themselves toward their Lord and Master God, as they ought. For as he can, so would he soon dispatch the world of tyrants. But because many be open enemies of God, and many dissemblers with God, God sendeth and

suffreth evill Governours (and will send worse) to plague the people for their iniquity, and to try the faith of his Elect, from whom not one haire of the head can be taken without Gods will. And therefore seeking alwaies to do that is good, they should alwaies eschue to do that is evill, and commit the end to God.

But admit there be a great number that have drunk of the whore of *Babilons* Cup, and think that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, and that Gods Word is but Friers matters: and that therefore (like *Sardanapalus*) they should seek to eat and drink, and serve their lusts, and nothing else: yet were this no sure way for them to do that they would, if they should obey their Princes in whatsoever they commanded.

The nature of wicked Princes is much like to the moldwarps, which if they be suffred to have their snouts in the ground, and be not forthwith letted, will suddenly have in all the body: or to the Weefels, that conveith in his whole body, where he hath once gotten in his head. So they, if they be obeyed in any evill thing (be it never so little) will be obeyed in all at length. What letteth, but that they may not onely send for mens goods, but for their heads also, as the *Turk* doth to his best *Bassa*, and all his subjects when it pleaseth him? Why may not they send for their subjects children, and cause them to be killed, baked, and give it to their Parents in stead of other meat: and for a second course bring into them, the heads, feet, and hands, as *K. Astiages* did to *Harpagus*? All the Paper of *England* would not serve to set out the mischiefs that might follow, when Princes evill commandements should be obeyed, and fulfilled. But men that be wise may by a little consider the whole.

Seeing therefore that God will not Princes commandements should be obeyed in all things, but will have his rather suffer a thousand deaths, then do any thing that is evill: and since also so many evils and mischiefs may follow in this life, where wicked Princes wils may stand for laws, men ought both for Gods sake and Commandement, abstain to obey such commandements, and cleave unto this *Maxime*: we must obey God rather then man, for whose sake, if we lose both goods and life, we ought to rejoyce, that we be called to serve him, & not doubt, but as he is able to recompence it, so will he (according to his promise) reward it. And besides also they ought to consider, that Princes be ordained for the wealth and benefit of the people, and not to their destruction: to maintain Common-wealths, and not to subvert them: which rather then any man should consent unto, he ought (being a faithfull man to his Countrey) to abide all losses, both of body and goods. For next after God, men be borne to love, honour, and maintain their Countrey.

Whether

C H A P. V.

Whether all the Subjects goods be the Emperours and Kings own, and that they may lawfully take them as their own?

THe Anabaptists wresting Scripture to serve their madnes, among other foul errours, have this: that all things ought to be common, they imagine man to be of that purity that he was before the fall, that is, clean without sin, or that (if he will) he may so be: and that as when there was no sin, all things were common, so they ought now to be.

But this mingling of the state of man before the fall, and of him after the fall much deceiveth them. For by the fall, and ever after the fall, this corruptible flesh of man is clogged with sin, and shall never be rid of sin, as long as it is in this corrupt World, but shall be alwaies disposed and prone to do that is evill. And therefore as one means to be the rather uncumbred of the heap of sin, God ordained that man should get his living by the sweat of his brows: and that he should be the more forced to labour, the distinction of things and property (*mine and thine*) was (contrary to *Platoes* opinion) ordained, as appeareth by these two laws: *Thou shalt not steale. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours Wife, nor his Servant, nor his Maide, nor his Oxe, nor his Asse, nor any thing that is his.* afterward indeed Scripture speaketh of communion of things, not that they ought so to be (for so Scripture should be directly against Scripture) but that there was such charity among the people, that of their own free will, they gave and sold all they had, to relieve the misery of their poore brethren: who for impotency, or for multitude of children, were not with their labour able to get sufficient to relieve their necessity. Nor of this so given might every man take as much as him lusted, but to every one (according to his necessity) sufficient was distributed. So that it stood in the liberality of the giver, and not in the liberty of the taker.

But there be some in these daies, not of the meanest, or poorest sort, but of the chiefest and richest: that is, many wicked Governours and Rulers, who in this errour excell the common Anabaptists, For the common Anabaptists do not onely take other mens goods as common, but are content to let their own also be common, which hath some smack of charity: for they themselves do no other, but that they themselves are content to suffer.

But the evill Governours and Rulers will have all that their Subjects have, common to themselves; but they themselves will depart with nothing, but where they ought not: no, not so much as pay for those things, that in words they pretend to buy of their Subjects, nor pay those poore men their wages, whom they force to labour and toyle in their works.

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But the manner of comming thereby is so diverse, that it maketh the justnesse of their doings much suspected. For some do it under pretence to do the people good, some by craft and subtile means, colour their doings : and some of right (but without right) claim them for their own.

Of the first sort be those, that put great taxes and impositions on drink, for as much as the people with overmuch drinking become drunkards (and so sin against God) they would seem by making them pay as much, or more to them, as the drink is worth, they should force them the rather to abstaine from overmuch drinking, and so from sin. But in this it may appeare, they seek not abstinence from sin, and the wealth of the people, but their own private profit. For if they had their eye to Gods glory, and the benefit of the people, and the vice to be taken cleane away : they would not crop off the branches of the tree, and let the root grow, but they would root up the root, that it should no more grow. And some of this sort do it to this end, to make things better cheap. For (think they) if there were but little money, then must things be sold better cheap. As though it lay in them to make plenty and scarcity, and as though the one were not the bounteous benefit of God sent to them that feare and love him : and the other his plague justly powred on them that hate him.

This kinde of practice was, if uot first found, yet used by the Emperour *Iulian* the Apostata, a tyrant and persecutour of the Christians (as before you have heard) who being a subtile man, and not having his Counsellours, Souldiours and subjects (at his devotion) ready to kill whom he would of the Christians (whom he knew for no private cause would rehell) meant by policy to murder them, spoiling them of that they had, and so not leaving them wherewith to buy to relieve their necessitie. Saith this enemy of God : I will use you after your Christs Gospel. For it saith : *Blessed be ye poore, for yours is the Kingdom of God.* And therefore I take from you all that ye have presently, that ye may the sooner come by that is promised you. Doubtlesse, if this way were as good and beneficiall for the Agents and doers of it, as it may be profitable for the subjects and sufferers : no doubt it were to be desired that it were done out of hand, rather then one minute of an houre differred to be done. For the people from the lesse to the more, from top to toe, all be given to covetousnesse, scraping, snatching, and cetching.

And from Pope to the hedge Masse-monging Priest, all be given to subtilty, craft, lying, raaytoury, and fals dealing. Their heart is so on their half-penny, that neither they consider their duty to God (no they know him not) nor remember how much they are bound to their Countrey : but cpon a vaine hope to save their own, are content
either

either themselves to betray their Countrey, or to suffer it to be betrayed of others, and one of them devoureth and eateth up another, that for a little while he may the more live after his own lust: Where contrariwise, poverty maketh men to remember, seek, and call on God, to love and defend their Countrey, one to love another like brethren, and finally deviseth and worketh whatsoever good is. But none may pill or poll, rob or spoile, or do any mischief (saith the Apostle) that good may thereof follow: and specially Kings and Governours of people, whom because they be ordained to do good, and should do nothing but well, Christ called *Benefactors*, and not *Malefactors*. If they do it, whilst they pretend (but mean it not) to bring others to Heaven, they may be sure to bring themselves to hell.

The second sort be those that rob the people indeed, yet would not have their doings known. They walk in nets, and think no man doth see them. And of this kinde be those, that contrary to all laws (both of God and man) and contrary to their oath, counterfeit the coine that is ordained to run between man and man, turning the substance from Gold to Copper, from silver to worse then Pewter, and advancing and diminishing the price at their pleasure. For in coines all laws command, and equity will, that these foure things be observed and straightly kept. First, the purenesse of the matter, that it be not corrupted or counterfeited. Secondly, that it have the just weight. Thirdly, that it be not clipped. The last, that it be not at the Princes will sometime prized at a more value, and sometime at a lesse: For if a Prince might do herein even what him lusted: how might he not lightly spoile his subjects of all that they have, or could come by. Which thing the great Divell and cut-throte of England (the Papists god) in his Sermon that he made at *Pauls Crosse*, upon this Theme (*Now is the time to wake from sleepe, my brethren, for now is our joy and pompe more nye, then when we before dissembled to believe in Christ. Be of good cheer, my Disciples, our trouble is past, our joy is at hand*) letted not to bluster out. In this Sermon to bring the dead innocent and blessed King Edward (whom for his vertue he hated) in hatred of the people: for he imputed to him (a child and a ward) the lewd and wicked behaviour of his cruell Counsellours, and said, he marvelled that the people could suffer so great injury to be robbed of their Prince, by altring their coine from Gold to Copper, and Silver to Lead, and to pull it from twelve pence to six pence, and not rise against the King to redresse their injury. He saw, that this and such like injuries were not tolerable in a Prince, and would have had the people do that against him (whom he for his vertue hated) which neither for this nor any vice he would have done, whereas he seemed to favour. For at the beginning to maintain *Boloigne* wars, which he devised, to pull K. *Henries* minde from matters of religion, or (as afterward good likelihood appeared) to have him taken

taken in the wars, and carried to the Bishop of Rome: the same Divell Gardiner was then the chief Counsellour to have the money abused, to maintain the same. And now lately (when he hath broken his chaine) devised Rosemary pence, worse then ever any coine was before, as the experience sheweth, they being at length cryed to be nothing.

The third sort of these evill Princes be those, that claime all their subjects goods for their own, who alleage for them this common saying: *All things be the Emperours, all things be the Kings, all things be the Princes.* And as the Devill brought forth Scripture to serve his purpose against Christ, so they abhorring all other parts of Scripture, that teach them their office or Christian duty, pick out onely a piece that may maintain their tyranny. It is thus written, say they in the first Book of Kings. *This shall be the right or law of the King that shall rule over you: he will take your sons, and put them to his Chariots, and make his Horsemen of them, and they must run before his Chariot, and will make him Captains of them, over thousands, and over fifties, & wil set them to aire his ground, and gather in his harvest, and to make instruments of War and Carts. And of your daughters he will make him Oyntment makers, his Cooks, and Bakers. And he will take the best of your fields, and of your Olive trees, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed and of your Vines, and give it to his Lords and to his servants, And he will take the best of your men-servants, and women-servants, and yongmen, and of your Asses, and do his work with them. And he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants. But when ye shall cry out at that time upon your King, which ye shall have chosen you, the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

This piece of Scripture is their cloak: but it serveth no more a Kings wicked doings, then that of the wicked sons of Ely, & the sacrificers (whom men call Priests) to take out of mens pots, what piece them lusted, or to take their portion raw, contrary to Gods ordinance. For as in the one place it is called the right or law of the King: so is it in the other place called the right or law of the Priests. But in no other of these places it is called the law or right that God appointed to Kings or Priests, which he set out in other places, but such as they would usurpe over the people. Neither will this maintain the purpose, that here he speaketh of a King and not a tyrant, for at the first a Kings name was as odious, and as much abhorred, as a tyrants. But this was spoke of the Prophet Samuel to feare the people, that they should not go about to alter the order and policy that God had ordained: which if they did, they should feel what a plague it were to have a King given in Gods fury. And if they had onely sought to be ruled by one (as partly in this, that one alone ruleth, a King doth differ from other Governours) they would have been content with Samuel alone, who as he was appointed by God to rule alone over the Israelites, so did he exercise and use his office most uprightly: but they would

would needs have a gallant and pompous King, one that should ride out with his Trumpets before him, a great troop of Horsemen before and behind him, his Gard altogether in filke, with their Holberds about him, and every one to fall flat to the ground that should meet him, as the Gentiles had, who were indeed tyrants, as appeareth by the first, called *Nimrod*, who for his rebellion against God, and devouring of Gods people, was called the stout Hunter before, or against God. And in the same Kingdom of the Israelites, God shewed by an evident terrour to all Governours, that he did not allow such right, as the Prophet said, the King would use over his subjects. For when King *Achab* would have bought of his subject *Naboth* his Vineyard (which he needed not to have done, if the subjects goods be the Kings) and he refused to sell it, as he might do, for by Gods Law he had a property therein, from which without his will and consent, he could not be forced to depart, the King fretted so much because he could not have his will, that he fell sick in his bed, and would not eat. His wife Dame *Iefabel*, a woman full of malice and mischief (as that kinde is very apt and prone to those vertues, and within short space do so therein excell, as few men can in long time match them) taketh the matter in hand. What (saith she) be you a meet man to be a King over *Israel*, that will suffer such dishonour at your slaves hands, one that by your ancient prerogative, which hath continued these hundred and three score years, (yea from the first King of *Israel*) ye may use in body and goods, as pleaseth you? Fie for shame, pull your courage to you, arise, eat your meat, be merry, I warrant you the Vineyard. Out goeth a Commission in the Kings name, to certain Commissioners, where *Naboth* dwelt, such as the Queens Grace was sure, favoured her proceedings. Those she requireth to cause *Naboth* to be indicted and condemned for an Heretike and a Traytour: and so to cause him to be hanged to death. Her will is forthwith satisfied, matter enough against *Naboth* prisoner at the Barre, because she would so have it: no man might be admitted, nor durst speak the truth in the prisoners cause, lest they had been clapped fast, and trussed up also for speaking against the King and Queen: no Quest durst quit him, for feare of kissing the Fleet: no laws, no equity, no justice might defend the poore innocent. So the Vineyard is the Kings by the order of law. Those news be carried in poast to *Iefabel*, she sheweth them to her husband, wherewith he (as soon as he heard them) was recovered, and goeth to take possession of the Vineyard. But what followeth this cruelty and tyranny? Are not both the Kings Majesty, and the Queens Highnesse within while after killed, and their bloud licked up of Dogs, according as the Prophet declared to him in the Vineyard, when he took possession of it? & all his house so destroyed, that there was not left thereof so much as a dog to pisse against the wall?

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Thus

Thus ye may see the end of lusty Lords and Ladies, that will have their lusts a law, and their will to be followed and obeyed of their subjects as a right indeed. The true right and prerogative of a King, was written in a particular Book by the Prophet *Samuel*, and laid up by the Ark, which Book (among many other) was lost, yet who so lusteth to know it, may see it set out by God in the Book of *Deuteronomy*. After that God had prescribed who should be their King, that is, no Aliene or Stranger, but one of their own brethren: for naturally strangers do not favour strangers. And a strange Prince seeketh by all means to destroy the naturall inborn, that he may with quietnesse and surety enjoy and use that he commeth evill by, and so leave it to his succession: then is set forth the right and prerogative of a King thus. When your King is made, he shall not keep many horses, nor putting his trust in his Horsemen, he shall not bring the people again into *Egypt*. He shall not have many wives, lest they alter his minde from God: neither yet great treasure of silver and gold. But when he is set in his Throne, he shall cause a copy of these laws and statutes to be written out of the originall, remaining with the Levites, and the same he shall have with him all the daies of his life, that he may learn to feare the Lord his God, and to keep (not to break) all the words and ceremonies that be commanded in the law, and also to fulfill them in his doings: And he shall not be proud and haughty over his brethren, neither shall he swarve from the law toward the right hand, or left hand, that he and his children may long raign over *Israel*. But besides this law appointed for all Kings, he that will be accounted a Christian King or Governor, must remember, that he is a Christian man, and that by being made a King, he is not exempt from the laws and duty of a Christian man, which every one professeth in Baptisme: but as he is called and exalted above the rest of his brethren, so should he be an example to them of good living & vertue, in observing the law, which saith as well to Kings as to beggers: *Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thyneighbours*: and so it stablisheth and confirmeth that every one may justly keep that is his own, and none may take it from him by any means against his will, be it King or Emperour.

And by the doings of *Samuel*, who albeit he were not a King in name, yet had he (being the Lieutenant and Viceroy to God the chief King) as great authority as any King on the earth: it may appeare, that all things of the subjects be not the Kings own proper. For if they had been his own, what needed *Samuel* (at the surrender of his office) to offer to make an account? And to whom, I pray you? To any bribing Auditour? No, he offered to make it to God, and to the King that succeeded him. Behold (saith he) *I have done all that ye desired me. I have made you a King to rule you. My children yet shall be with you. But I am old, and bare-headed: that is, I cannot long continue. I have been among you from a child,*

child, to this day. Lo I am ready to make mine account before God and your King, for all things that can be laid to me by any of you. Whose Bullock have I taken? whose Asses have I had? to whom have I done any violence or wrong? whom have I oppressed? of whom have I taken any bribes, to maintain him in his wickedness, to wink at his faults, or to stop justice? let him come forth, and I will make satisfaction. And none of them could say, black was his eye.

No, saith Samuel, I take God and your King to witnesse against you: I am so neat, that ye shall not finde one jot in my fingers, but I am able to lay enough against you wicked people, &c.

O Samuel, Samuel, what King or Prince can say to thee, as thou didst to the Israelites? They look not to make an account: no, they have counsell of crafty *Alcibiades*, how they may make no account.

But they cannot escape it, they shall meet with another manner of Auditour, then any of *Monsieur Cinquebonets* prentices? they shall reckon before him, that hath all their doings truely totted, and faire engrossed already before hand, and where he shall in the day of his generall Audit, say to Samuel, and all true Governours, that rule according to Gods rule: *Well fare ye, ye good and faithfull servants, Come, enter into your Masters joy: He shall contrariwise commit these oppressours and tyrants, not to the Lieutenant of the Tower, or to the Warden of the Fleet, but unto the Iaylour of Gehenna (to be chained in the Ward of eternall paine) and say: Away with these deceivers of my people to the Dogs of Hell, ye were Masters, and not Ministers? ye were Bearebaytours, and not Bailiffes, ye were Sroyes, and no Stewards.*

But let us imagine an untruth, that all the subjects goods were the Princes, and that he might take them at his pleasure. Let us imagine, that the subjects were onely carnall men, without the knowledge and feare of God. Yea, and let it be granted also, that they were spoiled of all their Armour, and great Garisons set in every place to keep them in obeisance, so that they had not wherewith to redresse their injuries, as nature would counsell them: were this a way to make the people labor, when others should take the bread out of their mouths? Would they desire to live, to be in such misery themselves? Would they desire to increase the world with children, when they know that they should be left in worse case, then unreasonable beasts? No surely, and that ye may see by the work of nature in the people of the *West-Indies*, now called new *Spain*: who knew of Christ nothing at all, and of God no more then nature taught them. The people of that Countrey when the Catholike Spaniards came thither, were simple and plaine men, and lived without great labour, the Land was naturally so plentifull of all things, and continually the trees had ripe fruit on them. When the Spaniards had by flattery put in their foot, and by little and little made themselves strong, building Forts in divers places, they to get the gold that was there, forced the people (that were not used to labour)

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labour) to stand all the day in the hot Sun, gathering gold in the sand of the Rivers. By this means a great number of them (not used to such paines) died, and a great number of them (seeing themselves brought from so quiet a life, to such misery and slavery) of desperation killed themselves. And many would not marry, because they would not have their children slaves to the Spaniards. The women when they felt themselves with childe, would eat a certain hearb to destroy the child in the womb. So that where at the comming thither of the Spaniards, there were accounted to be in that Countrey nine hundred thousand persons, there were in short time by this means so few left, as *Peter Martyr* (who was one of the Emperour *Charles the V.* Counsell there, and wrote this History to the Emperour) saith, it was a shame for him to name.

This is the fruit, where Princes take all their subjects things as their own. And whereunto at length will it come, but that either they must be no Kings, or else Kings without people, which is all one. But thou wilt say: whereof cometh this common saying: all things be the Emperours, all things be the Kings? It cannot come of nothing. But by that that is already said, ye see that every man may keep his own, and none may take it from him, so that it cannot be interpreted, that all things be the Emperours or Kings, as his own proper, or that they may take them from their subjects at their pleasure, but thus it is to be expounded, that they ought to defend, that every man hath, that he may quietly enjoy his own, and to see that they be not robbed or spoiled thereof. For as in a great mans house, all things be said to be the Stewards, because it is committed to his charge, to see that every man in the house behave him self honestly, and do his duty, to see that all things be well kept and preserved, and may take nothing away from any man, nor mispend or waste, and of his doings he must render account to his Lord for all: so in a Realm or other Dominion, the Realm and Countrey are Gods, he is the Lord, the people are his servants, and the King or Governor is but Gods minister or Steward, ordained not to misuse the servants, that is, the people, neither to spoile them of that they have, but to see the people do their duty to their Lord God, that the goods of this world be not abused, but spent to Gods glory, to the maintenance and defence of the Commonwealth, and not to the destruction of it. The Princes watch ought to defend the poore mans house, his labour the subjects ease, his diligence the subjects pleasure, his trouble the subjects quietnesse. And as the Sun never standeth still, but continually goeth about the world doing his office; with his heat refreshing and comforting all naturall things in the world: so ought a good Prince to be continually occupied in his ministry, not seeking his own profit, but the wealth of those that be committed to his charge. And therefore *Saleuchus* King of
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of Syria used to say : if men knew how much businesse, and how little quietnesse it were to do the duty of a King, none would take upon him that office, if he might have the Crown for taking it up out of the mire. And *Antiochus* the great King also of Syria, when he was driven out of his Countrey by *Scipio* the Captain of the Romans, and had lost all *Asia*, and the Countries about : he thanked the Romans, that by their means he was delivered of so great a part of his cares. He saw it was so impossible for one man (were he never so diligent and watching) to execute well so great a charge.

If these two great Kings (who knew not God, but thought themselves gods : that hoped not on everlasting life, but thought there was no other but this life : those that thought they could not be forced to make account of their doings to any person) thought it so great a charge to have a rule over Countries : how much more should such Princes, as pretend to be Christians, that know themselves mortall men, no gods : servants, no Masters : and who must (because God hath said it shall be so) make account for all their doings, for all souls, men, women, and children, think their office and ministry an heaue burthen, and so give over seeking and hunting after their own glory, their pompe, their pride : and seek the glory of God, and the wealth (and not the destruction) of those that be committed to their charge, and tremble at this saying of *Chrysostom* : *I marvaile that any Governour can be saved, which is not spoken in vaine.*

C H A P. V I.

Whether it be lawfull to depose an evill Governour, and kill a Tyrant.

AS there is no better nor happier Common-wealth, nor no greater blessing of God, then where one ruleth, if he be a good, iust, and godly man : so is there no worse, nor none more miserable, nor greater plague of God, then where one ruleth, that is evill, unjust, and ungodly. A good man knowing that he or those by whom he claimeth was to such office called for his vertue, to see the whole State well governed, and the people defended from injuries : neglecteth utterly his own pleasure and profit, and bestoweth all his study and labour to see his office well discharged. And as a good Physician earnestly seeketh the health of his Patient, and a Shipmaster the wealth and safeguard of those he hath in his Ship, so doth a good Governour seek the wealth of those he ruleth. And therefore the people feeling the benefit comming by good Governours, used in time past to call such good Governours, Fathers : and gaue them no lesse honour, then children owe to their Parents.

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An evill person comming to the government of any state, either by usurpation, or by election, or by succession, utterly neglecting the cause why Kings, Princes, & other Governours in Common-wealths be made (that is, the wealth of the people) seeketh onely, or chiefly, his own profit and pleasure. And as a Sow comming into a faire Garden, rooteth up all the faire and sweet flowers, and wholsome simples, leaving nothing behind, but her own filthy dirt: so doth an evill Governour subvert the laws and orders, or maketh them to be wrenched or racked to serve his affections, that they can no longer do their office. He spoileth the people of their goods, either by open violence, making his ministers, to take it from them without payment therefore, or promising and never paying: or craftily under the name of loanes, benevolences, contributions, and such like gay painted words, or for feare he getteth out of their possession that they have, and never restoreth it. And when he hath it, consumeth it, not to the benefit and profit of the Common-wealth, but on Whores, Whoremongers, dicing, carding, banqueting, unjust Wars, and such like evils and mischiefs wherein he daily delighteth. He spoileth and taketh away from them their Armour and Harnesse, that they shall not be able to use any force to defend their right. And not contented to have brought them into such misery (to be sure of his state) seeketh and taketh all occasions to dispatch them of their lives. If a man keep his house, and meddle in nothing, then shall it be said, that he fretteth at the state. If he come abroad & speak to any other, forthwith it is taken for a just conspiracy. If he say nothing, and shew a merry countenance, it is a token, that he despiseth the Government. If he look sorrowfully, then he lamenteth the state of his Countrey. How many so ever be for any cause committed to prison, are not onely asked, but be racked also, to shew whether he be privie of their doings. If he depart, because he would live quietly, then is he proclaimed an open enemy. To be short, there is no doing, no gesture, no behaviour, no place can preserve or defend innocency, against such a Governours cruelty: but as a Hunter maketh wilde beasts his prey, tolls, nets, snares, traps, Dogs, Ferrets, mining and digging the ground, Guns, Bows, Spears, & all other instruments, engines, devices, subtilties and means, whereby he may come by his prey: so doth a wicked Governour make the people his game & prey, and useth all kindes of subtilties, deceits, crafts, policies, force, violence, cruelty, and such like devillish waies, to spoile and destroy the people, that be committed to his charge. And when he is not able without most manifest cruelty to do by himself that he desireth, then faineth he unjust causes to cast them into prison, where like as the Bearwardes mussell the Beares, and tye them to the stakes, whiles they be baited, and killed, of Mastiffes and Curs, so he keepeth them in chains, whilst the Bishops, and other his tormentours, and hereticall
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inquisitours do teare and devoure them. Finally, he saith and denieth, he promiseth and breaketh promise, he sweareth and forsweareth, and neither passeth on God nor the Divill (as the common saying is) so he may bring to passe that he desireth. Such an evill Governour properly men call a Tyrant.

Now for as much as there is no expresse positive law for punishment of a Tyrant among Christian men, the question is, whether it be lawful to kill such a monster, and cruell beast, covered with the shape of a man.

And first for the better and more plaine proof of this matter, the manifold and continuall examples that have been from time to time, of the deposing of Kings, and killing of Tyrants, do most certainly confirme it to be most true, just and consonant to Gods judgement. The History of Kings in the Old Testament is full of it. And as Cardinall Poole truly citeth, *England* lacketh not the practise and experience of the same. For they deprived King *Edward* the II. because without law he killed his subjects, spoiled them of their goods, & wasted the treasure of the Realm. And upon what just causes *Richard* the II. was thrust out, and *Henry* the IV put in his place, I refer it to their own judgement. *Denmark* also now in our daies, did nobly the like act, when they deprived *Christierne* the Tyrant, and committed him to perpetuall prison.

Zacharias the Pope that invented first the lamps in the Church, deposed *Chilperichus* King of *France*, because he was said to be a lecherous person, and an unprofitable Governour of the Realm: and forced him to be a Monke, and made *Pipine* (father of *Charles*) King of *France*.

Pope *Honorius* (as ye heard before) commanded that the King of *Hungary* should be deprived, because he deminished the Rights of the Crown: unlesse he repented, and undid all that he had done.

A certain King of *Portugale* was very negligent in his office: he consumed and wasted away the treasure of his Realm, he oppressed his subjects, and misused them. Wherefore Pope *Innocent* the IV. made the Kings brother, the Earl of *Bolone*, Coadjutor to the King, and gave him the whole charge of the Realm, discharged the people of their oath to the King, and commanded them to be obedient to the Kings brother in all things, as King. But the Popes learned Counsell said, that he ought to have been utterly deposed of the Crown. These doings of Popes I rehearse not, as though their usurped authority were to be allowed, but for that ye may see, that it is no new thing to depose evill Kings and Governours: and that those that have the just authority, may and ought for the like causes, do as they did. For albeit the authority of the Pope be not lawful, yet is the reason that moved them so to do, honest and just, and meet to be received and executed among reasonable creatures. And this law of nature to depose and punish wicked

wicked Governours, hath not been only received and exercised in politike matters, but also in the Church. For the Canonists (the Popes own Champions) grounding themselves upon this law of nature, say, that Popes who may be indeed (by their saying) the lieutenant of the Divell, albeit they call themselves the Vicars of God, may be deprived by the body of the Church. And so at one clap, in the Counsell held at *Constance* in *Germany*, in the year of our Lord, 1415. were three Popes popped out of their places, *Gregory*, *Iohn*, and *Benet*, and the fourth (called *Martin* the V.) chosen. Afterward in the Counsell of *Basil* was Pope *Eugenius* served with that sawce. For the unluckinesse of the Countrey the rest of true Popes have since refused, that any generall Counsell should be kept in *Germany*, fearing lest they all having deserved as much as the other foure deposed, should have the like punishment. And thus they confirme their doings. If (say they) the Pope had not a Superiour, he might being suffered in his evill, bring the Church to destruction. And therefore if he cannot otherwise be brought to amend himself, it is lawfull to use the law of nature, that is, to remove him from his office: for he is no Bishop or Pope, that abuseth his Popedome and Bishoprick. An evill Prelate, and unreformable, seemeth not to be ordained by the will of God, say the Canonists, alleageing the words of *S. Ierome*, upon the saying of the Prophet *Osee* that a Prince or Iudge is not alwaies ordained by God. And he bringeth for an example King *Saul*, against whom God said: Seeing the people have made themselves a King, and not a Ruler by me, and not by my counsell: and yet God had chosen *Saul*. But yet because he was not chosen according to the will of God, but according to the minde and desires of the simple people, God denied him to be ordained by his will and Counsell. The Canonists also say, that albeit the Popedome by the law of God, (as it is not indeed, saith the truth) yet that this man or that, *Paul* or *Iuly* is Pope, it cometh by the act of man. For the Cardinals representing the universall Church chose him. And therefore if he be not according to the will of God, & for the wealth of the universall Church, that is, if he be not one that seeketh Gods glory, and the wealth of Christs Church, he may be justly deprived, because they erred in choosing him. And God seemeth not to be against the putting out of such an evill person, but to favour and further it. For he said: If the salt be unsavoury, it is good for no use, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of all men. And again: If thy right eye be a let unto thee, pull it out, and cast it from thee. For it is better that one member perish, then that the whole body should be cast into Hell. And again, say the Canonists (the Popes Lawyers) in rehearsing Christs Words: If our eye, foot, or hand offend us, let it be taken from the rest of the body: for it is better to lack members in this world, then that they should carry the rest of the body into hell.

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By salt, eye, foot, and hands, is understood the Heads and Rulers, and not the other members and subjects. And not onely the heads and rulers in the Church, but also in all Policies and Common-wealths.

Now if it be lawfull for the body of the Church to depose and punish a Pope, being the chief Priest, anointed not on the arme or shoulder, as Kings be, but on the head and hands, to declare an higher authority then Kings have: nor crowned with a simple Crown, as Emperours and Kings be, but with a triple Crown, to shew his Regality and power above all others: how much more by the like arguments, reasons, and authority, may Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other Governours, abusing their office, be deposed, and removed out of their places and offices, by the body or state of the Realm or Common-wealth?

By this law and arguments of the Canonists, and example of deprivation of a Pope, are al clokes (wherewith Popes, Bishops, Priests, Emperours and Kings, use to defend their iniquity) utterly taken away. Say they: we are anointed, ye may not touch us: we are onely subject to God, and every man to us. God will have us (O most wicked Popes, Bishops, Priests, cruell and evill Princes) reign to plague you people, for your iniquity.

But here ye see, the body of every State may (if it will) yea & ought to redresse and correct the vices of their Heads and Governours. And for as much as ye have already seen, whereof politike power and government groweth, & the end whereunto it was ordained: and seeing it is before manifestly and sufficiently proved, that Kings & Princes have not an absolute power over their subjects: that they are & ought to be subject to the law of God, and the wholesome positive laws of their Countrey: and that they may not lawfully take or use their subjects goods at their pleasure: the reasons, arguments, and law that serve for the deposing and displacing of an evill Governour, will do as much for the proof, that it is lawfull to kil a Tyrant, if they may be indifferently heard. As God hath ordained Magistrates to heare and determine private mens matters, & to punish their vices: so also will he, that the Magistrates doings be called to account and reckoning, and their vices corrected and punished by the body of the whole Congregation or Common-wealth. As it is manifest by the memory of the ancient office of the high Constable of *England*, unto whose authority it pertained, not onely to summon the King personally before the Parliament, or other Courts of Iudgement (to answer & receive according to justice) but also upon just occasion to commit him unto ward.

Kings, Princes and Governours have their authority of the people, as all laws, usages, and policies, do declare and testifie.

For in some places and Countries they have more & greater authority, in some places lesse. And in some the people have not given this

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to any other, but retaine and exercise it themselves. And is any man so unreasonable to deny, that the whole may do as much as they have permitted one member to do? or those that have appointed an office upon trust, have not authority upon just occasion (as the abuse of it) to take away that they gave? All laws do agree, that men may revoke their Proxies, and letters of Atturney, when it pleaseth them: much more, when they see their Proctours and Atturneys abuse it.

But now to prove the latter part of this question affirmatively, that it is lawfull to kill a Tyrant: there is no man can deny, but that the Ethnicks (albeit they had not the right and pefect true knowledge of God) were indued with the knowledge of the law of nature.

For it is no private law to a few or certain people, but common to all: not written in Books, but grafted in the hearts of men: not made by man, but ordained by God: which we have not learned, received, or read: but have taken, sucked, and drawn it out of nature: whereunto we are not taught, but made: not instructed, but seasoned: and (as S. Paul saith) mens conscience bearing witnesse of it.

This law testifieth to every mans conscience, that it is naturall to cut away an incurable member, which (being suffred) would destroy the whole body.

Kings, Princes, and other Governours, albeit they are the heads of a politike body, yet they are not the whole body. And though they be the chief members, yet they are but members: neither are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people.

Vpon this law of nature, and to conserve the whole body, the Ethnicks not knowing that the soul is immortall, nor that there shall be a Resurrection of the body and soul to Iudgement, but thought the soul perished with the body, & that there was no difference between a brutt beast, and mans life: thought it reasonable, and made it lawfull (by their positive law) for every man to kill a Tyrant. And to encourage men to enterprise to kill a Tyrant, they esteemed the deed to be worthy so great reward, that they thought him worthy pardon that killed a Tyrant, though he had killed his own naturall father before. And besides this, when they saw, that Tyrants used to have their bodies defended with great Garrisons and Guards of forreign people, or kept themselves in strong Holds, and secret Chambers, so as none without great hazard and peril might come near them: they propound great rewards to him that should destroy a Tyrant. Neither thought they rewards or gifts to be a sufficient recompence for so vertuous an act, but they used also to make the Image of him that killed a Tyrant, in brasse: and to set it up in the most solemne place of the City, for a perpetuall memory of the act, the commendation of the doer, and the encouragement of others to do the like. They dedicated to his praise & honour, songs and verses, and would have them taken of men as gods worthy immortality.

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Whereof came the name of Nobility, or how were those that be called heroicall or noble Personages, devided from others, & had in such honour and reverence, seeing all men came of one man, and one woman? was it for their lusty Hawking and Hunting? for their nimble dicing, and cunning carding? for their fine singing and dancing: for their open bragging and swearing? for their false flatering and flatterring? for their subtil picking and stealing? for their cruell polling and pilling? for their mercilesse man murthering? for their unnatural destroying of their naturall Countreymen, and trayterous betraying of their Countrey? No, no, there was no such thing. The respect onely of their vertue and love to their Countrey brought them thereto. Because they revenged and delivered the oppressed people out of the hands of their Governours, who abused their authority, and wickedly, cruelly, and tyrannously ruled over them: the people of a gratefull and thankfull minde, gave them that estimation and honour. Of this kinde of Nobility was *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and such like.

Good Kings, Governours, and States in time past rook it to be the greatest honour that could be, not to take Cities and Realms to their own use (when they were called to ayde and relieve the oppressed) as Princes do now adaies: but to rescue and deliver the people & Countreys from the tyranny of the Governours, and to restore them to their liberty. So did the Romans, the Lacedemonians out of the tyranny of *Onabis*, and al Greece from the bondage that *Philippus* (*Demetrius* son) King of *Macedonia* had them in. So did the Noblemen of the people of God also come to their high estimation and honour, as *Gedeon*, *Barac*, *Iepthe*, and *Samson*, who for the delivery of his Countrey from the power of the Idolatrous cruell Philistines, pulled upon himself present death. So that this principle that evill and evill doers ought to be punished, and rotten members to be cut away, was no peculiar law of the Ethnicks, but it proceedeth of nature, and therefore common to all men, as it is plaine by the Chronicles, and experience of all ages, and purposely exemplified for our sure stay and learning, as well in the Book of Iudges, as in many other Histories of holy Scriptures, according to the expresse Word and commandement (applied to this sence and meaning) which saith: *Let evill be taken out of the midst of the congregation, that the rest which heare of it, may be afraid, and not enterprise to do the like.* And Christ pronounceth, that every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down, and cast into the fire: much more the evill tree, that bringeth forth evill fruit. And albeit some do hold, that the maner and mean to punish evill and evill doers, is not all one among Christians (which be indeed that they professe in word) and Ethnicks, which think it lawfull for every private man (without respect of order and time) to punish evill: yet the laws of many Christians regions do permit, that private men may kill malefactours, yea though

they were Magistrates, in some cases; as when a Governour shall suddenly with his sword run upon an innocent, or go about to shoot him thorow with a Gun, or if he should be found in bed with a mans wife, or go about to defloure and ravish a mans daughter: much more if he go about to betray and make away his Countrey to Forraigners, &c. Neverthelesse, for as much as all things in every Christian Commonwealth, ought to be done decently, and according to order & charity: I think it cannot be maintained by Gods Word, that any private man may kill, except (where execution of just punishment upon Tyrants, Idolaters, and trayterous Governours, is either by the whole State utterly neglected, or the Prince with the Nobility and Counsel conspire the subversion or alteration of their Countrey and people) any private man have some special inward commandement, or surely proved motion of God: as *Moses* had to kil the *Egyptian*, *Phinies* the Lecherous, and *Abud King Eglon*, with such like: or be otherwise commanded or permitted by common authority upon just occasion and common necessity to kill.

But now perchance thou wilt demand, why Christian men never made expresse positive law of the kind of punishment of tyrants. Might it not be answered, as *Solon* did (excusing that he had not made a law for such as killed their parents) (that no man would suspect, that so unnatural a fact should be thought much lesse committed) or that those that should be the Ministers, yea the Images of God here in earth, charged both by God and man, to see the people defended from injuries, should so much abuse their office & authority, as to convert the sword to the destruction of them, whose champions & defenders they ought to be? Yea rather of all to say (which is most certain) the simple people deceived by great oaths, and beguiled with faire promises, suffered their Governours to usurpe such authority and power over them, and so long winked and bare with their iniquity, that they were not able to take it from them.

But I beseech thee, what needeth to make one generall law to punish by one name a great many offences, when the law is already made for the punishment of every one of them particularly. If a Prince rob and spoile his subjects, it is theft, & as a theefe ought to be punished. If he kill and murder them contrary or without the laws of his Country, it is murder, & as a murderour he ought to be punished. If he commit adultery, he is an adulterour, and ought to be punished with the same paines that others be. If he violently ravish mens wives, daughters or maidens, the laws that are made against ravishers, ought to be executed on him. If he go about to betray his Countrey, & to bring the people under a forreign power, he is a trayteur, and as a traytour he ought to suffer. And those that be Iudges in Common-wealths, ought (upon complaint) to summon and cite them to answer to their crimes
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and so to proceed, as they do with others. For the Prophet speaking unto those that have the rule in Common-wealths, and that be Iudges and other ministers of justice, saith: minister justice to the poore and Orphan, pronounce the miserable and poor to be innocent, if he be innocent: take the poor, and deliver the needy out of the hands of the wicked. When ye sit to judge, ye shall not have respect of persons, whether they be rich or poor, great or small: feare no man, for ye execute the judgement of God, saith the holy Ghost by the mouth of *Moses*. Iudge not after the outward appearance of man, but iudge rightly, saith Christ. God him self gave the example of punishment of evill Governours. For when the children of *Israel* had committed Idolatry, he commanded *Moses* to take the Princes of the people, and to hang them up against the Sun, that his wrath and fury might be turned from *Israel*.

When that doughty Dame Queen *Athalia*, the woman Tyrant (seeing after her son *Abaziah* was dead, that she was childlesse, and past hope to have any children) had killed all the Kings Progeny (saving *Ioas*, whom *Iehosaba* *Ierams* daughter hid, and got with his Nurce out of the way) purposing to reign thereby in security, and to transpose the right of the Crown to strangers, or some other favourer of her cruell proceedings at her pleasure, by the help and subtilty of her trayterous Counsellours, and so went on in all abomination and cruelty without controuling a great space: Did her subjects suffer her in her wickednesse still unpunished, though she was the undoubted Queen, & chief Governour of the Land? No, no. But as soon as *Ioas* was a little nurced up, and crept somewhat out of the shell, being a childe of seven years old: the Nobility and Commons feeling by experience what misery it was to live under the government of a mischievous woman, not onely guarded *Ioas* with men, and all decent regall ceremonies unto the House of God (by the advice and appointment of *Iehoiada* the high Priest) and there crowned him solemnly: but also when *Athalia* the Queens Highnesse came in, marvailing what ado there was, and perceiving the matter, rent her cloaths, howling and crying, as the maner of mad women is, specially in the hot seasons of the year: they laid hands on her (for all her crying, *Treason, treason*; and when they had carried her out of the House of God, they slew her. And so was the Realm rid of a tyrant, the right inheritour possessed in his regall state, the people made a new band with God to serve him sincerely according to his Word, and banished all Idolatry, and fals religion (which the Queen had set up and used) and the Common-wealth flourished afresh in her former peace and liberty.

The Prophet *Elias* being no civil Magistrate, caused the K. & Queens Highnesse Chaplains, *Baals* Priests, to be killed before *Achabs* face, because they were Idolaters, and taught and maintained fals religion,

though scarce so false and idolatrous, as the Popes Masse and religion is. And when the Queens Majesty Dame Iesabel (that she Divell) saw Iebu come to her Palace, cryed and reviled him as a traytour. Iebu not passing upon her words (though she was his Sovereign Lady & mistress) cryed aloud: who is on my side, who? As though he had said, if there be any among you, that setteth more by Gods true Religion, and their naturall Countrey, then by that Idolatrous witch the Queen: cast her out at the window. And so two or three of her Privie Chamber threw her out to him, bursting her neck and bones against the walls. And as soon as Iebu had trodden her under his feet, Dogs (as ye heard before) eat up her flesh, and licked up her bloud.

Ioram was known the King and right inheritour of the Crown of Israel. And yet when he saw Iebu and his company come toward him, he asked him whether he came in peace. Iebu said, what peace should there be, as long as the whoredomes of thy Mother Iesabel and her witchcrafts be so great? And so for his Idolatrous tyranny and evill Government Iebu slew him. And many more such examples in Scripture we have, which (as the rest of the Bible is) be left for the instruction of all Christian Common-wealths in like case, as we want not also the like experience and examples even in these our daies. Because the remembrance of the horrible destruction of the evill Governours, and alteration of the Common-wealth in *Switzerland*, and certain other places in high *Almaine*, now in our time is not very pleasant, I will purposely passe it over, albeit the matter is so fresh and green: yet still in all mens sights, that it is spoken of universally through the world. And was not *Petrus Aloysius* (Pope Paul the III. son, and Duke of *Placenza*) justly flaine, now lately of his own people, because of the evill government, and tyranny he used among them?

And where this justice is not executed, but the Prince and the people play together, and one winketh and beareth with the others faults, there cannot be, but a most corrupt, ungodly, and vitious State, which albeit it prosper for a season, yet no doubt at length they may be sure that unto them shall come that came to *Sodome*, *Gomorrah*, *Ierusalem*, and such other, that were utterly destroyed.

And on the other side, where the Nobility and people look diligently and earnestly upon their authorities, and do see the same executed on their Heads and Governours, making them to yeeld account of their doings: then without faile will the Princes and Governours be as diligent to see the people do their duty. And so shall the Common-wealth be godly, and prosper, and God shall be glorified in all. But thou wilt say, what if the Nobility, and those that be called to common Counsels, and should be the defendours of the people, wil not, or dare not execute their authority: what is then to be done? The people be not so destitute of remedy, but God hath provided another mean, that is,

is, to complaine to some Minister of the Word of God, to whom the keyes be given to excommunicate, not onely common people, for all notorious and open evils: but also Emperours, Kings, Princes, and all other Governours, when they spoile, rob, undo and kill their poor subjects without justice and good laws. And whatsoever such Ministers of Gods word bindeth upon those occasions here on earth, it is fast bound in Heaven before the face of God. And no mean to undo it, by any good work (much lesse by Popes pardons, or Friars prayers) without repentance of the party offending, and satisfaction made to the party offended, for the injustice and injury committed: and the mercy of God through the onely merits of our Saviour Iesus Christ. Example we have of S. *Ambrose*, who being no Pope, nor Popes Commisary, but Bishop of *Millane*, excommunicated the Emperour *Theodosius*. Whose doings, because thou maist the better know, I will in few words expresse the effect of the History. This *Theodosius*, albeit he were an Emperour, and a Christian man, yet was he of nature colerick, and much disposed to be angry: and as it seemeth, without consideration. It chanced that in a sedition at *Theffalonica*, some of his officers were stoned to death, and some very evill intreated. He in a rage sendeth thither a number of mercilesse men of warre, who making no difference between the authours of the sedition, and the innocent people make an horrible slaughter of the poore people, man, woman, and child. Afterward the Emperour after his accustomed manner, came towards the Church, and S. *Ambrose* met him at the Church dore, & would not suffer him to enter: but not onely told him, it was no place for murtherers, but also did excommunicate him out of all Christian company, till he repented and made satisfaction for the horrible murther committed by his Souldiers. The Emperour being brought up and instructed in the Word of God (as I would to God all Christian Princes were at this present) and knowing the office both of the Minister of Gods Word, and of an Emperour, obeyed: and returned weeping and crying to his Palace. Eight moneths after, came the feast of the Nativity of Christ: and *Ruffinus* Lord great Master, or Steward of his house, came to the Emperour, whom he found very heavie, weeping and sobbing. He being familiar with him, desired to know the cause of his sorrow. Ah *Ruffinus* (saith the Emperour) thou art merry for thou feelest not my pains. I lament and mourne for my calamity. It is free for slaves & beggers to go to the Church, and there to pray to God, but I may not come there: no, Heaven Gates be shut to me, Christs words go not out of my heart: *Whatsoever ye binde on earth, shall be bound also in Heaven*. At length being encouraged by *Ruffinus*, that he might be absolved of S. *Ambrose*, he sendeth him before, to be a mean for him, and he him self followed. But *Ruffinus* could not intreat the Bishop. After the Emperour cometh, but durst not enter into the Church, but without the dores

dores fell on his knees to S. Ambrose, and desired absolution. S. Ambrose said, he was not meet to be absolved, for his coming was more like a Tyrant, one that would by force be absolved, then a Christian man that shewed him self penitent and sorry. No (saith the Emperour) I wil not presume against the order of the Church to enter in by force, but I humbly beseech thee to loose me out of these bonds of excommunication, and that thou wilt remember the mercy that God useth: & that thou wilt not shut against me the Gate that God opened to all that be penitent. The Bishop asked him, what worthy repentance he had shewed since the time he had committed that wicked act, or with what medicine he had healed those most grievous wounds. It is your part (saith the Emperour) to prepare the medicine, & mine to receive and use it. At length S. Ambrose required there might be a law ordained, that the execution of revenge should not be done suddenly, but delayed, so as it should not proceed of anger, and the Emperour made that law. Afterward he was released of the excommunication: and coming into the Church, he made his prayers, not standing nor kneeling, but lying flat on the ground, pulling his haire, beating his brow, weeping, lamenting, and crying with David: *My soul cleaveth to the pavement, quicken me (O Lord) according to thy Word*: and asked mercy and forgiveness. Thus ye see, what any Minister of the Church may do upon the greatest Prince, if he will execute his office and the power that Christ giveth him. But thou wilt say, what if the Minister passe not on his duty, but be content to wink at all the vices of the Governours, be they never so wicked, so he may have a Bishoprick, a Deanery, a Prebendry, or a good fat benefice and live unpunished in all abomination? Yea, and what if there be such speciall grudges between the Nobility & Commons, that the one sort neither trusteth nor loveth the other, so as the one dare not open the necessity and mean of such correction, and redresse of the evill Governours vices, for feare lest if the purpose come to light before hand, the matter be dashed, & the motioner leap headlesse for his labour, as it is in these daies often seen: What shift then? Indeed there be certain examples & patterns in the holy Bible, which I will not stick to rehearse, though not expound, but wholly refer them to the further debating & judgement of thine own conscience, through the holy Ghost, by whose providence they are enrolled for our learning.

We read that after the Lord God had sundry times delivered his people of Israel from wicked tyrants, with whom he had plagued them for their wickednesse and Idolatry: at length when through abundance of wealth and quietnesse, they fell to a certain carelesse security of life, not onely forgetting God and his holy sincere Word, but also seeking every one his own singular self-gaine, with the hurt and contempt of his neighbour. God took from them their naturall liege Lord, the good Iudge Othniel, and placed, ye (saith the Scripture) he strengthened a
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strange Prince among them, an Idolatrous person, and a wicked, called *Eglon*. This *Eglon* used the matter so with bribing those Israelites, that for preferment would be traytours to their naturall Countrey, and specially in bringing in a great power of Ammonites and Amalekites (two kinde of people in beggerly pride and filthinesse of life, much like to the common nature of Italians and Spaniards) as well to guard his person, as to fortifie the strong holds and munitions: that by and by seeing himself strong enough with his strangers and inborne traytours, he brought the Countrey and people under his subjection by fine force, so that he continued their ordinary Prince, and chief ruler eighteen years long. What oppressing of the poor, what robbing of the rich, what taking up of corne and vittall for the King and his strangers, and no money paid for it: what taxes and payments the people were yoked withall, what ravishing of mens wives, daughters, and servants, what heading and hanging of the naturall Israelites to make the strangers Lords & Gentlemen, what common miseries and continuall calamities there were during that space, no doubt it is unspeakable.

But what remedy? No man durst make moan to his neighbour for feare of bewraying, none durst once whister against the King, they must bend or break, no remedy, patience perforce, all were faine to serve and please *K. Eglon*. But at length they sent (as their yearly accustomed maner was) a present to the King by a witty messenger, called *Abud*: who having access to the King, said he had to say unto his Majesty secretly from God. And when the King had commanded all his servants away, so that *Abud* and the King were alone in his Summer Parlour, *Abud* thrust his dagger so hard into the Kings fat paunch, that there lay King *Eglon* dead and *Abud* fled away.

Now, was this wel done, or evill? Forsooth the deed is so commended in Scripture, that the holy Ghost reporteth *Abud* to be a saviour of *Israel*. But note by the way, the text saith not, that *Abud* was sent of the people to kill the King, nor that he told them what he intended: for by that meanes, one *Iudas* or other would have betrayed him, and so should he have drawn, hanged, and quartered for his enterprise, and all his conspiratours have lost both life, lands and goods, for their conspiracy. Onely the Scripture saith, that *Abud* (being a private person) was sturred up onely by the Spirit of God.

Likewise when *Sisara* Lieutenant General of King *Iabins* wars, fleeing from *Barac*, sought succour to hide his heed, having long annoyed and hurt *Israel* with oppression & wars, a woman named *Iael* called him into her house, and hid him under a Covering. He thought himself sure, and for wearinesse dropped fast asleep.

Iael taketh a great long spiking nayle, and driveth it with a Hammer so hard into his braines, that *Sisara* troubled *Israel* no more, nor

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never told who hurt him. *Mattathias* being by the Kings Commissioners required and commanded to conformance himself to the Kings proceedings (which was to commit Idolatry) as all his Countrey men the Iews had done (and as the like case standeth now in *England*) not onely refused to obey K. *Antiochus* commandement, or to follow his proceedings in that behalfe, but also when he saw a Iew commit Idolatry before his face, he ran upon the Iew in a great zeal and slew him, and fell also upon the ordinary Commissioners sent from *Antiochus* the ordinary King of the Realm, & slew them out of hand. These examples need no further exposition, the Scripture is plain enough. But if neither the whole State, nor the Minister of Gods Word would do their duty, nor any other lawfull shift before mentioned can be had, nor dare be attempted: yet are not the poor people destitute altogether of remedy: but God hath left unto them two weapons, able to conquer and destroy the greatest Tyrant that ever was, that is, *Repentance* and *Prayer*. *Repentance* for their own sins, which provoke the anger and displeasure of God, and make him to suffer tyrants, Warres, famine, pestilence, and all plagues to reign among the people. And *Prayer*, that he will withdraw his wrath, and shew his merciful countenance. Hereof we have not onely commandement, but also manifest examples in the Scriptures. For when the Ark of God was taken away from the people of *Israel* by the Philistines in battell, & the glory of *Israel* brought under foot (the people being miserably for their sins pressed and plagued by the Philistines 20 years long) so that the people despairing of their honour and liberty, & seeing no Marshal weapon, nor help of man able to redresse their state, cried and continued in lamenting their thralldom and grievous condition: at length by the advice and commandement of the good Prophet *Samuel*, the people fell to these two means: *Repentance* and *Prayer*, with *Fasting*: and the Lord God not onely delivered them out of the oppression of the Philistines unto their former liberty, but also gave them such victories, that the Philistines many years after, durst not once move war against them. Thus was also the cruell tyrant *Herod* vanquished. The Apostles and people in the Primitive Church lamenting their sins, & calling to God for mercy, the Angel of God struck *Herod* sitting in his Throne, in his Princely apparel, making an Oration to the people, and they commending it to be the voice of God, and not of man, and so he was eaten up of lice or wormes. Likewise when *Iulian* the Emperour and Apostata had long persecuted the Church, at length when the people fell to *Repentance* and *Prayer*, he going into *Persia*, was slain, and none of the family of *Constantine* (whereof he came) after that was Emperour. And in like maner not long since, when that Tyrant, Duke *George of Saxony*, persecuted all such as professed the Word of God, revived and pulled out of Purgatory, by the worthy instrument of God,

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D. Luther : and at length threatned, that he would burne and destroy the Vniversity of *Wittenberg*, which when *Luther* heard, he went into the Pulpit, and exhorted every man to put on his Armour : that is, *Repentance* and *Prayer*. And soon after, God rid the world of that tyrant, and so not onely delivered his Church, but also augmented it with another Vniversity, called *Lipsia*, and all the whole Countrey of this cruell Duke was converted to Christs Gospell.

These be the wonderfull works of Almighty God, whose power is as great and as ready at a pinch, as ever it was, and his mercy as willing to be shewed, if his poore afflicted people would put on their Armor : that is, be sorry for their sins, and desire him to withdraw his scourges, and to hold his mercifull hand over them.

CHAP. VII.

What confidence is to be given to Princes and Potentates.

WHen the King of *Macedonia*, *Alexander* the great, heard the Philosopher *Anaxagoras* say, there were many worlds, the worine of ambition so tickled and troubled his heart, that the water gashed out of his eyes. And when he was asked, what made him to weep : have I not just occasion to weep (saith he) that hearing of so many worlds, I am not yet Lord of one ? This worine without faile was the Devill, who not contented that Kings (the Ministers of God) should serve God in their vocation (to have them the sooner fall from God, & serve him) putteth them in hope they shall be Lords of all the world, if they will take him for their chief Lord and Sovereign. But because he seeth the inconstancy of Kings, that they no longer abide by their oaths and promises, that they may thereby have profit, gain, and their desire, he doth not forthwith put them in possession, but to try their fidelity, he sheweth them by what means they shall come to it, putting to their good will, help, and industry. He doubteth not, but if he may bring them once into the puddle, over the shoos, they wil thorow thick and thin, whatsoever commeth of it, to come to that they looked for. These waies of the Devill proceed out of his school of practices, and they be in a generality, two : that is, *open force*, and *secret subtilty* : the one whereof, that is, force and manhood, having oft tried, and most times it hath not succeeded after their minde, they have not so much put in use, but have rather trusted on the other, that is, subtilty & craft, whereby they work a great deal more mischief, then by open force and strength of men, and with lesse perill of themselves. For when they go about it by force, the Diuel their master is not able to warrant them the successe. For all victory and good successe commeth of God, who when he seeth the people (against whom the Devill and his Kings work) fall to repentance for their sins, he overthroweth his and their

enemies with a fillip, as he did proud *Holifernes* and *Senacherib*: the one being slaine by the good and faithfull woman to God, and her Countrey, *Iudith*: all his power being an hundred and twenty thousand footmen, and twelve thousand Archers on Horseback destroyed by a few. And the others Army being an hundred foure score, and five thousand persons, was destroyed by the Angell of God, without the work of man, and he forced to flee: and at his returne home was killed of his own two sons.

But the other means, that is, subtilty and craft (which the World calleth policy) they more practice: and therein daily do so proceed, that within short time many of them have been doctours: And they have a principle of this art, which is, that to come by a Kingdome, to come by that they desire, they may break all mens laws, all oaths, all promises, yea the laws of God and honesty. This art of subtilty of Princes (otherwise called policy) consisteth chiefly in this, for a man to appeare outwardly that he is not inwardly: to say one thing with the mouth, and think another in the heart: to smile upon him, whose throat he would gladly see cut: and so pretend to the eye all amity, benevolence, and love, where they beare greatest hatred, envie, and malice, till convenient time may be had with least danger, to execute their conceived mischief. And because they be not able alone to do their feats, look where they can understand of any of their nature, them they retaine, to them give they great chains of gold, feed them with great pensions and fees promised. And yet they be not ignorant, that such vile men (as will for money betray their own Countrey, and serve their wicked purposes) are like unto common Soldiers, and Launce knights, who serve him that giveth a peny more: and will, when they may have greater bribes of another, soon buy and sell their presant Master. For how is it possible for any man to think, that he whom he hath corrupted with rewards to serve his purpose, will or can be faithfull to him that is a stranger, that so well knoweth what they be, and findeth them fals to their native Countrey: in the defence whereof all honest men be bound, and be content to bestow their life, their bloud, their goods, and whatsoever they have? Do not Princes use traytours, as men use *Coloquints*, *Turbirh*, *Elleborum*, and such like poisons? that is, to serve their purpose, when they have need of them, and after cannot abide their sight, no, nor their savour, but cast them out on the dung-hill?

Yes doubtlesse, it is most certain, When one had betrayed into *Cesar*s hands certain Towns: What said *Cesar*? I love treason, (saith he) but traytours I do abhor. So said also King *Antigonus*, I love traytors (saith he) whilst they betray, but when they have betrayed, and served my purpose, I utterly hate and abhor them.

Aurelianus

Aurelianus the Emperour having long besieged the City of *Tiana* in *Asia*, and being without hope to get it by force, practised with one *Heracleo* (a great rich man, and Citizen of the City, then being in the City) to betray the City to him.

This *Heracleo* fearing lest if the City should be won by force, he should also lose his riches, and hoping of great gain by this bargain, consented to the Emperour, and did that he required. The Emperour as soon as he came into the City, caused this traytour *Heracleo* to be killed (albeit he had done alone that for the Emperour, that all the Emperours power was not able to obtain for him) because he could not abide his sight, that had betrayed his Countrey, the deed was so horrible, and against nature. Yet because he would not seem to have done it for desire of his riches, he gave it to his children, whom he preserved. And writing to his friend the matter as it was done, sheweth that he could not love nor abide Traytours, nor that he could keep promise with such as should not be faithfull and loving to their Countrey. It is written of one called *Cacanus* King in *Baierland* in *Germany*, that he invaded a Countrey sometime called *Carnia*, now called *Friely* in *Italy*, and other places belonging to the Venecians, with a great power: and at the first meeting of him and the enemies, he overcame and killed one *Gisulfus* a Lombard, Duke of that Countrey. After that he besieged a City, wherein *Romilda* the Dukes wife was.

She desiring to see this King, what manner of man he was, needed not to have his image pourtraid unto her, but looked over the Walls advisedly upon him. When she saw he was a goodly and faire person, she was by and by in love with him. She wisheth, that she might feel him enter into her own hold. Meate nor drink could do her no good, she could not sleep, she sobbeth, she howleth, she swoundeth, she reareth her haire, and is more then half mad, for lack of her lust.

To be short, contrary to all honesty, and womanly shamefastnesse, she wooeth him to be her husband: and having no regard of the love that every honest creature ought to beare to his Countrey, she promiseth to give him, City, Countrey, jewels, goods, and whatsoever she could poll of her subjects, and make for him, so that he would marry her. The King lacking no wit (or at least wanting no witty counsell) and knowing what perill might chance unto him, if he should seek to win it by force, taketh the offer.

And according to his promise he married her, and one night took paines to shake up her lecherous rotten ribs. In the next morning he leaveth his Chamber, and her Gates open free to every man: and (as some, God give them grace to repent in time, did to the wicked woman of *Feversham* in *Kent*, that not long since killed her husband) he gave every man liberty that would, to offer his devotion into her corporeffe.

So at length, when he thought her tired, and her unsatiable lust somewhat stanch'd (for by like it would never have been fully glutted) he caused her to be thrust on a stake naked, that all men might see those ugly parts, which to satisfie, she was content to betray her naturall Countrey: and that it should be an example to all others, to take heed to do the like, he causeth the whole City to be clean overthrowne.

This may ye see, that Kings spare neither male nor female, great nor small, that for any respect betray their own naturall Countrey: because they know, those can never be faithfull to strangers, that be fall to their Parent, their Countrey. And would to God they were as earnestly set to abstaine from doing evill, as in these examples they have been ready to do justice.

But what shall we need to bring forth examples of practicers, of strange and far Countries, when every man may finde plenty in his own? To what purpose shall it be, to alleage those of a great many years past, when there be plenty every day fresh to be found? Onely to let men see by comparilon of the old with the new, & the new with the old, the present with the past, and the past with the present, that the Divell hath alwaies been, is, and shal be the devill: and such fetches as he hath used, such he doth and will use. And that his disciples, as they never forget the principles of their science, so have they at length their masters reward, worthy their deserts.

When *Wriothsley*, *Arundel* and *Southwell*, conspired with the ambitious and subtle *Alcibiades* of England, the Earle of *Warwick* (afterward Duke of *Northumberland*) to pull the good Duke of *Somerset*, *K. Edwards* Vncle, and Protector, out of his authority, & by forging a great many of fals letters and lies, to make the Protector hated, brought to passe *Warwicks* purpose: who then for a while, but they three? *Wriothsley* that before was banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and son next to the King. Every man repaireth to *Wriothsley*, honoureth *Wriothsley*, saith unto *Wriothsley* (as the *Affirians* did to *Hammon*) and all things be done by his advice: and who but *Wriothsley*? *Arundell* his promised to be next to the King, Groom of his Stool, or Controuler of his House at the least. *Southwell* (for his whisking and double diligence) must be a great Counsellor in any wise. But what was the end? The Earle as crafty as the best (seeing that his desire should not take place, if these men might have that they hoped for) so handleth the matter, that *Wriothsley* is faine in the night to get him out of the Court to his own house: where upon narrow examination, fearing lest he should come to some open shamefull end, he either poisoned himself, or pined away for thought.

Southwell is committed to the Fleet, where being examined, he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had gone very neare it, had not his examiners upon hope of his amendment, breaking out of his eye, but

but not out of his heart, obtained the Earls favour. And at the Earls sutes *Arundell* hath his head vvith the Axe, devided from his shoulders.

And now at length was P. the master of practises handled, that will have one part in every Pagent, if he may by praying or paying, put in his foot? But before I proceed to speak of this Master of practises, it shall not be amisse, that I tell you somewhat of his Master, the doctour of practises. For albeit this Doctour be now (but too late) thoroughly known, yet it shall be requisite, that our posterity know what he was, and by his description see, how nature had shaped the outward parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor had a swart colour, or hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within the head, a nose hooked like a *Bussard*, wide nostrils like a *Horse*, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws like the *Devill*, tallonts on his feet like a *Gripe*, two inches longer then the naturall toes, and so tyed to with sinews, that he could not abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones.

And nature having thus shaped the forme of an outward monfter, it gave him a vengeable wit, which at *Cambridge* by labour and diligence he had made a great deal worse, and brought up many in that faculty: *Wriothesley*, *Germaine Gardiner* (whom he caused speedily to be hanged, lest he should have too much disclosed his Masters art) and among many other, this master or proctour of practises, whom we are now entred to speak of.

This Doctour to give some signification of his nature and cunning to come aloft, that he might do the more mischief, betrayeth his M. Cardinall *Wolsey*: and more then any other, laboureth the divorce between *K. Henry* and the Dowager. And by and by he earnestly sought to have rid in the Kings boots: worse could not content him. But when he saw that would not be, and considered it better to have store, then one onely paire (for so perchance he might have found them sometimes not all clean when he would have used them, and also it should be a let to bring to passe that he purposed) he changeth his purpose: and because none should remember his practises before, nor suspect the rest to come, he shaveth his crown as broad as a sawcer, and decketh himself with a white smock like a Porter of the *Stilyard*. But what needeth such circumlocution, when every body knoweth this doctour of practises was called *D. Stephan Gardiner*? After this, his luck was to be committed to the Tower, when *Tyburn* had been a place more worthy his deserts. His scholler, the master or proctour of practises, remembering how much he had prospered by the means of the Doctour, and bending his disposition to make thankfull requitall of part of his received benefits, putteth the Doctor in memory of an old lesson he had taught him: that is, to give back two foot with the Ram, that he might win the third. But whether this *D. Gardiner* was offended with his scholler

scholler the proctour, for his over-rank practising, or how it hapned, I cannot tell, I am sure that in this one, he answered honestly: let my scholler go on as he hath begun (saith he) for *Gardiner* cannot play the knave so. Words of *Gardiner*: but he was not unskild (I say) in the art of practises. No indeed, he was excellent in that feat, as it well appeared. For when he had wrought and made sure the great marriage, to avoid the hatred of the people, he made his scholler to father it, and to have the outward thanks. And no marvaile of his cunning, For he was his master, & had studied longer the art then the proctor, and had a better wit, and spent yearly the half of his Bishoprick in bribing, or else he had lost his head long before: for his treasons were not altogether unknown, albeit they were covered and hid.

But what doth this master or proctor of practises? Doth he not dissemble with the Earl of *Warwick*, serveth his turne in all that his wits would serve? But what at length becommeth of our practising P.? He is committed toward, his Garter with shame pulled from his leg, his Robe from his back, his Coat armour pulled down, spurned out of *Windsor* Church, trod under foot, and he himself at length with great favour obtaineth, that he might redeem the rest of his corporall pains with open confession at the Barre in the Star-chamber on his knees, of his bribery, extortion, dissimulation, ambition, robbing of the King, and such like vertues, whereby he became Noble.

If we minded in this place to display the packing and practising of the Nobility and Counsell of *England*, in the sicknesse, and at the death of *K. Edward* the VI. for the pretended placing of the Lady *Iane* in the regall seat, and their sudden slipping the coller, and deceiving of one another: it were matter enough to teach men, how little confidence and trust ought to be given either to the smooth countenances, faire words, confident promises, bloody oaths, or swearing upon the holy Evangelists, either yet in the letters and hand writings of the Princes and Potentates of the world. They that were sworn chief of counsell with the Lady *Iane*, and caused the Queen to be proclaimed a bastard through all *England* and *Ireland*: and they that were the forefost forcers of men (yea under the threatned pains of Treason) to swear and subscribe unto their doings, bewrayed the matter themselves under hand by their wives, and other secret shifts, and afterward became Counsellours (I will not say procurers) of the innocent Lady *Ianes* death: and at this present are in the highest authority in the Queens House, and the chiefeft officers and doers in the Common-wealth.

And some of them that wrote most earnestly to a certain ancient Lord of the Realm (among many other, in the favour of the La. *Iane*, bebastarding and railing upon the Queen, were not ashamed within few daies after (when the same Lord was locked up in the Tower, for his constant, although constrained obedience to the common order of the

the Counsell) to be his most strange and rough examiners on the contrary part, as though they themselves had never halted in the matter.

But I know these practisers answer: that if they had not used that practice, they should not onely have stood in hazard themselves, but also failed of their privie purpose. Well. In the mean time it is enough to know, that a man may not trust nor beleieve them, either by their words, oaths, or hand writings, further then he seeth and heareth them, and scarcely so far.

And I pray you, hath not the Realm good cause to thank and trust the Potentates, Prelats, and Parliament men, for banishing the sacred Testament and Gospell of God, with the sincere administration of his holy Sacraments, and for bringing the devillish power of the Romish Antichrist into *England* again, with his miserable Masse, and all Popish slavery? By the which they have not onely broken their oath and loialty to God, and to the Imperiall Crown of *England*, pulling eternall condemnation upon themselves, and provoking the heavie hand of Gods wrath and plague upon their seed, & upon the whole Realm, in compelling the people to sin, by falling from the true service of the living God, into most wicked superstition and idolatry (alas therefore) but also have been, and are guilty of the innocent blood of sundry excellent and most godly learned men, and of many other true Christian naturall English men and women.

These practises need no Painter, the memory and sight thereof is not onely evident in mens eyes (to their hearts sorrow) but also raw in their stomacks, and not easie to be digested. God be mercifull unto miserable *England*.

But lo, whilst I am thus occupied: a new Policy, a new, a new, a new, What ye what? *Paget* and *Mason*, albeit they have not one father and mother, yet be they sworn brethren: and albeit they be of sundry Universities, yet be they both of one study. Whatsoever *Mason* worketh, *Paget* utteth: that the one inventeth, the other practiseth. By *Masons* working, and *Pagets* devising, Sir *Peter Carow* went into *Flanders*. *Mason* pledging for his safeguard King *Philips* fidelity, and his own honesty. Afterward he and Sir *John Cheke* being enticed both to come to *Brussels* to see the Queens Embassadors, and having brought *Paget* on his way toward *England*, be in their return taken by the Provost Marshal, spoiled of their Horses, and clapped into a Cart, their legs, armes, and bodie tyed with halters to the body of the Cart, and so carried to the Sea side, and from thence into the Tower of *London*. And before *Paget* came to *Calice*, Sir *Peters* man comming out of *England* meeteth him, and asketh for his Master. *Paget* smileth, and saith nothing, but his Master was in health.

But how commeth this to passe? mark well. The Queen thought *Paget* a meet man for her in all things, seeing that without cause she
I suspected

suspected his religion: and at his comming over, she (like a woman) utteth to him what she thought of him, and promileth, if she may perceive his heart and mouth to agree together, she would set him aloft. He assureth her, that whatsoever she should will him, should be done, yea he would do more then she should require him.

Comming over, he bruted (that he liked not the State in *England*: for he is one of them, that hangeth now on prophecies (but on a wrong thing) and therefore would be cut of the way in the heat of the mad month of May, and pretendeth to come to the baines to *Acon*. But indeed his intent was to see, if he could practice with some of the Duke of *Cleves* men, to betray the poor Duchesse of *Suffolk*, and some of the English Congregation at *Wesell*, that he (to performe his promise) might present them to the Queen. But when he saw his purpose failed (God having better provided for his Duchesse, to keep her from traytours hands) he commeth not to the baines, he needed them not at that time. But then he causeth *Carow* and *Cheke* (whom *Masyn* had prepared ready to serve his turne) to be taken and carried away, as before ye have heard. And at his return, had great thanks, and the Queens favour increased toward him. But his just reward yet is not come, let him not look to speed any better then *Heracleo*, if he continue *Iudas* still. I would wish, he would in time become a *Peter*, I trust he is not so far past, but he may be prayed for. He is my good Lord, and *Masyn* once my great friend, and neare neighbour. I wish them both well. Thus yee see the finall successe and reward of traytours. Wherefore it is to be wondred, that such practicers which work so much mischief for others, cannot take heed of the evill that is towards themselves. But Gods Word must be verified of the wicked. *Behold, the wicked travaileth with mischief* (saith the worthy Prophet and King *David*, a man of great experience) *He hath conceived unhappinesse, and brought forth a lie. He hath graven and digged up a pit, but he shall fall himself into the pit that he hath made. For the mischief that he mindeth to others, shall come on his own head, and his wickednesse shall fall on his own pate.*

—But for as much as all these fetches and practices be onely made and laid to deceive those that be honest, faithfull, true, and naturall to their Countrey: it is requisite to treat how they may be avoided. Deceit would not be knocked out with deceit, if it might so be, but honest men should alwaies, and at all times, deale plainly and honestly. And therefore the honestest mean before things be done, is to be wise and circumspect: and to foresee the end, what mischief may follow, before they suddenly, rashly, and unadvisedly consent to any thing. To use such honest wisdom and foresight, is permitted both by Gods Word and nature. Ye Gods Word and nature command honest men to use it. For those things that can but once be done, and whereon so great weight hangeth, ought to be well done. Therefore men ought

ought not to give credit to faire words, large promises, and great oathes (for these are the instruments to deceive the honest and well-meaning) but the fairer the words be, the larger the promises, and the greater the oaths, the more to suspect. For godly and honest things may be well enough done without painted and smooth words, faire promises and oaths. There ought to be such equality in doing of things, that such deceits need not. Onely subtilty and craftdevised long writings, great promises, and many solemne ceremonies. When the great marriage was treated in the Privie Counsell, and so great promises made, the old Duke of *Norfolk* said, they were golden words, but how shall they be performed, said he? Afterward when it was propounded to the Lords in the Parliament to be ratified, the Lord *Windsor* in like manner asked who should be surety for the performance thereof, and who should sue the forfeit? Neither of them lacked wisdom and foresight, to see that under painted paper, much mischief was hid. Long experience had taught it the Duke, being long trained in Princes practises: and nature suffered not the other Lord to be utterly void of it. But both of them lacked that courage, magnanimity, and fortitude, that ought to be in Noblemen. But it might be, that they had it, but durst not utter it, partly for that the one was in hope to recover that he had a time lacked: and the other for feare to lose that he had: but chiefly (as it may be gathered) because they saw their Peeres mouths stopped. But let them be sure, all will not serve, if practisers parts may take place. For such things will be altogether overthrown, or not medled with: for at length the least let will be called to memory, they may be sure. And because publike matters of a Realm, that concerne all and every mans life, wife, children, lands goods, and whatsoever cannot be treated upon by all men, but all must put their trust in a few: men ought to be wise and circumspect whom they trust. For there be too many that passe not what become of their neighbours, so they may prosper themselves: what become of the whole Realm, so their own families may stand still. He that maketh sute to be a deputy for a multitude, seemeth to sue for his own vainglory or profit. Those that send letters, not to chuse this man, but to chuse such a man: have in their heads more then the universall wealth of all. He that bringeth letters to be preferred, meaneth not the benefit of them that he would serve. He that giveth money, and maketh great feasts, thinketh some other fetch, then the service of his neighbours. He that refuseth or releaseth his ordinary wages, looketh for some greater extraordinary reward. He that is alwaies, or oft at Princes platters, or in practisers Palaces, cannot long continue the peoples true proctour. And therefore in *Venice* (as they write) none of the Senate and officers, upon paine of his head, dare talk privatly with another, nor take rewards or fees of any forreign Prince.

Prince. For they are so jealous of the whole state, because they have been so often deceived by practisers in their own companies. Which lesson all wise men and honest men should learn, and by all means suspect Princes promises, and withstand practicers doings, and not believe one word that they say, be it never so gentle: nor yet their deeds, whatsoever shine or pretence of love they declare. Such a Realm as *England* is, is well gotten, howsoever it is gotten. But thou that art a true Englishman, seeing the fetches and falshood of these named, and such other as they be, look in time to thy self, and to the state of thy naturall Country, and trust not unto them, though they use never so much fleering, though they speak never so faire, and though they give thee their hand-writing. Be thou *Prometheus*, and not *Epimesheus*. Remember that our Countreyman *Adam Afterwit* hath a great while been the Lord *Forewits* fool. Be taught therefore in time, before thou be taken. Say not too late: Had-I-wist. Thou hast sufficient warning, God give thee grace to consider it, and use it.

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